LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of Labour Unity
Founded 1921
Editor: R. Palme Dutt

True Blue Democracy	★	R.P.D.
Racial Discrimination	★	Fenner Brockway, M.P.
Economic Forecast	★	Henry Collins
China First Seen	★	R. Page Arnot
Unstable Giants	★	Angela Tuckett
A Bacchanalia of Lies	★	V. I. Lenin

Marx Family Letters

Labour Discussion Forum

February, 1957

One shilling and sixpence

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JUST SEE WHAT THEY SAY

LETTERS from the first to respond to my appeal for new guarantors can be found below. We give pride of place to one of the first of all, the Dean of Canterbury. I shall leave these readers to do my job for me. They are, we think, more eloquent than I could be. One new collector, indeed, bursts into verse, playing upon Shakespeare's use of my surname (which in his day meant a trumpet call to the troops to be up and doing). Our friend signs himself Oliver Twist —because he will always be asking for more. I look for many a Roland for his Oliver. Don't miss his letter inside the back cover!

From the Dean of Canterbury

I should like to supplement my subscription to the Labour Monthly *which is now due, with a gift to your fund. I wish it could have been more. For your leaders are so admirably presented and so well-timed. Please send a copy of the current issue to each of these.*

HEWLETT JOHNSON,
The Deanery, Canterbury.

A Ward Labour Party secretary

I am enclosing £2 to cover the cost of renewing my subscription to *L.M.* and balance to the development fund. With prices going up one has to give a bit more if one can, and as I can this year, I am doing so. I shall have to look at the problem again next year. I hope that the financial side of the paper overcomes its hurdles during 1957.—G.C., *Devon.*

A 'Foundation' Reader

Owing to prolonged illness I have been unable to contact you before now and incidentally to forward a donation. Now I hope to at more regular intervals. I have studied the difficulties financially which are confronting the production of *L.M.* and so writing conscientiously I must endeavour to make up for lost time by all means in my power. Hitherto I have been putting a little on one side each week until the sum of 5s. is reached, but I have been compelled to 'pilfer' the savings. As a war pensioner, 1914-18, my expenses are gradually mounting, while the income remains static. Next week my rent goes up another 1s. 10d., this April the rates go up. If the Rent Bill goes through, you can draw your own conclusions. I was called up in the first world war; that is to say, I was conscripted. Young men are called up to fight the wars of imperialism, sent away, their health ruined; when they return they are thrown on to the scrap heap. Well, now, it occurs to me that I might be able to make my donations more regular even at 2s. 6d. which I enclose. If I should have a windfall I could send more.—J.L.S., *Staffs.*

A 'Regular' writes his first 1957 letter

I enclose 6s. as a personal gift and the usual 6s. from my friends and me.

In the story of the struggles that ultimately led to the revolution of November, 1917, there were periods when a revolutionary situation existed and periods when retreat was necessary to prepare for the next advance. But today, when events are moving so quickly I think that perhaps there need be no great lapse of time between periods of advance. The victory cannot come too soon; I know that *Labour Monthly* will assuredly play a full part in bringing about a favourable situation and in exploiting it to the greatest advantage for mankind.—D.H.S., *Ayrshire.*

(Continued on page iii of cover)

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Notes of the Month

True Blue Democracy

The accursed power which stands on Privilege
(And goes with Women and Champagne and Bridge)
Broke—and Democracy resumed her reign
(Which goes with Bridge and Women and Champagne).

Hilaire BELLOC.

WITH its customary smooth efficiency Democracy in Britain (guaranteed to be the only correct variety) has chosen the Man for the Hour. Weary, sick and discredited from the debacle of Suez, the previous Son of the People—descended, as it chanced, from the Best Families, and a scion, by another one in ten thousand chance, of Eton and Oxford—laid down his burden. The

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machinery of democracy was set in motion and cast the net wide to select from fifty millions the fittest to take up the burden in the hour of need. The Queen consulted her two wisest Elder Statesmen, who were also, as it chanced, descended from the Best Families, and themselves related; and their sagacious gaze lit on another relative. So the new Chosen of the People turned out to be also descended from the Best Families and, by another odd coincidence, also a scion of Eton and Oxford. But his policy was as different from that of his predecessor as Boodle's from the Beefsteak. His predecessor had been an ardent champion of the Suez adventure which had landed Britain in a debacle. The new man had been an ardent champion of the Suez adventure whose debacle had offered Englishmen the finest opportunity to show their mettle. With scrupulous regard for the democratic principles of free competition and promotion only by merit, the new Premier found five more scions of Eton and Oxford to accompany him in the Cabinet, constituting one-third of his Cabinet. But among the immaculate eighteen one plebeian was proudly displayed, a mere Chairman and Director of companies with an aggregate capital of thirty million pounds. After kissing the hands of the Queen, the new Premier proceeded to the Turf Club to regale himself with oysters and champagne. Britain had once again been Saved for Democracy.

Elementary Lessons in Democracy

In a remote corner of the dominions of the Queen and Mr. Macmillan humbler folk also sought to tread the path of democracy. But lacking the education of their superiors, they got the sum wrong. In the poverty-stricken hovels on the plantations of Booker's Guiana (labelled on the map British Guiana) the toiling men and women, whose labours made possible the dazzling splendour of Sandringham and Mayfair, fondly imagined that democracy meant the rule of the majority. Tory gunboats undeceived them. Painfully building up their organisation, they had returned the representatives of their choice by an absolute majority by universal suffrage. British democracy replied by dispatching armed forces to remove their elected Ministers. Dr. Jagan had not been educated at Eton and Oxford. Janet Jagan had not been presented at Court. All that history was over three years ago. But the problem has arisen anew sharply at the very moment of Macmillan's installation. For, despite three years of ceaseless intimidation, arrests, corruption, infiltration and splitting, the majority of the people have remained faithful to their People's Progressive Party under the leadership of the Jagans. On

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January 16, 1957, *The Times* in an editorial had to admit that a new election would still show a majority for them:

> Dr. Jagan is almost certainly correct in asserting that the Jagan faction have retained the support of the East Indian sugar workers, which would be enough to give them a clear majority in a general election.

And the conclusion? Bow to the will of the majority? Not on your life.

> So long as the Jagans maintain their power and the outlook revealed in this document, no Government, British or West Indian, can take the risk of granting British Guiana responsible government.

Such is the Mayfair conception of democracy, the counterpart of Macmillan's installation. *The Times* editorial was appropriately entitled 'Out Into the Open'.

United Nations and Democracy

This Mayfair conception of democracy is encountering heavy weather in the modern world. Hence the inextricable problems confronting Macmillan's Administration. The British Guiana people do not stand alone. The majority of mankind is moving with them. Witness the new situation even in the distorting mirror of representation in the United Nations. Previously, with twenty obedient Latin American votes, the Assembly could be counted on as a bulwark of safe majorities for imperialism. Now this bulwark has become unstable. Out of the 80 members of the present enlarged United Nations, some 25 are associated with the independent Afro-Asian group (37 in all from Asia and Africa), alongside 10 from socialist countries. The co-operation of these 35 is sufficient to bar the road to any automatic two-thirds majority for imperialism, even on the basis of the present distorted representation and with the continued exclusion of the 600 millions of China. Indeed, if the imperialists are divided, the majority can even go the other way, as Suez showed, when Britain and France were reduced to using the veto.

'Sheer voting strength'

What is the conclusion drawn by the paladins of Western Democracy? Respect for the majority? Not on your life. Mr. Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs,

> pointed to the growing tendency within the Assembly to pass resolutions by sheer voting strength, that are impractical and at times quite unreasonable. He dwelt on the way that votes are often cast by groups, and shrewdly said that, as a decisive vote requires a two-thirds majority, a 'group veto' or a 'block veto' could soon make the Assembly as futile as the Security Council.
>
> (*The Times*, 18.1.57.)

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Resolutions passed by 'sheer voting strength'. 'Futile'. Admirable clarity of definition of the real outlook. But this revealing protest is only in respect of the changed balance in the very imperfect and muffled reflection in the United Nations. The changed balance in the real world situation is proving still less easy to counter. This is the nightmare which haunts the sleep of the new Macmillan Administration.

Eisenhower Doctrine

It is true that, after the brilliant Eden-Macmillan-Salisbury sabre-thrust has successfully performed a final hari-kari for Britain's former dominance in the Middle East, the United States has bustled forward with ostentatiously indecent haste to take over. But this is a wry consolation for the British imperialists, even though Mr. Gaitskell, surrounded by admiring American fans, appears to have expressed himself as delighted. Nor is it to be assumed that the Arab people, having tasted the beginning of freedom and the possibility of defying imperialism with success, will hasten to place their necks anew under the yoke in response to the all too obvious 'stick and carrot' doctrine of Mr. Dulles. Neither dollars nor tanks, declared President Nasser, could deflect Arab liberation.

> America would be very much mistaken if she were to believe that her dollars and tanks would gain for her the goodwill of the people in this area. Dollars no longer tempt the people nor do tanks frighten them.
>
> (Cairo *Al Goumhouria*, 16.1.57.)

In vain the power-obsessed imperialists speak of a 'power vacuum' in the Middle East if the United States does not step in. They forget that the 'vacuum' is already inhabited by eighty million people.

> Discussion abroad on whether American or Soviet influence shall fill the power vacuum left by the eclipse of Anglo-French influence leads the Arab nationalists to say that the Arabs must fill it themselves.
>
> (Cairo correspondent, *Manchester Guardian*, 7.1.57.)

Mr. Dulles might threaten that 'this vast area is likely to be lost' if the United States did not act (conjuring up pictures of a Lost Property advertisement: 'Lost—the Middle East; finder please return to Mr. Dulles for appropriate reward'). But what is 'lost' to imperialism is won for the peoples.

Unwanted 'Protection'

In vain Mr. Dulles seeks to invoke the classic gangster doctrine of 'protection' by assuring the Arabs that, if the United States moves in on them with its navy and its bombers, it is only to 'protect' them

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from the 'menace' of a Soviet attack—which, under cross-examination, he had to admit there was no evidence to expect:

Question: What evidence was there that Russia planned direct aggression?

Answer: Mr. Dulles knew of none; but there was evidence of the advance of Communism in the area.

(Mr. Dulles before the Congress inquiry into the Eisenhower Doctrine: *The Times*, 15.1.57.)

So much for the military 'aid'. But would the economic 'aid' at any rate be without political strings? Certainly not. It has repeatedly been explained to Congress that all United States economic aid is only a sub-section of military strategy, 'a cheaper kind of military aid', as *The Times* has put it.

Mr. Dulles insisted that the Middle Eastern countries would 'have to be dedicated to fighting against international communism before we give them help'. To clarify this, he said that the United States would be prepared to help both Egypt and Syria 'if that aid is stipulated to fight against international communism'. (*Manchester Guardian*, 14.1.57.)

A 'wise and courageous' doctrine, in the view of Mr. Gaitskell.

Gratitude to the Soviet Union

Unfortunately for the theory of 'protecting' the Middle Eastern peoples against the Soviet Union, the Middle Eastern peoples have learned from experience to distinguish between the Powers which have invaded their territory, bombed their cities, plundered their resources and exploited their labour, and the Socialist Power, which has never invaded their territory, established bases, seized their resources or exploited their labour, but has only stood by their freedom struggle and helped them in their hour of need. Hence President Nasser in his interview to the Greek newspaper *Ethnos* on January 17 reaffirmed his people's 'deep gratitude' to the Soviet Union:

The Russians gave us arms when the West refused; they supported our views when the West sought the internationalisation of the Canal; when we were attacked by the West, Russia threatened the aggressors; when others refused our requests for wheat, Russia gave us some and also gave us oil. The United States had frozen $50 million, and Britain £150 million, whereas Russia had helped Egypt. Twenty days ago Egypt had asked for wheat from the West, but had met with refusal because the West wanted payment in dollars. The West refused to buy cotton, but Russia bought, with the result that prices had risen. All this has provoked the keen gratitude of the Egyptian people for the Soviet Union.

Against this 'menace' President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles propose to 'protect' the Middle Eastern peoples.

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A Doomed Doctrine

However dangerous the Eisenhower Doctrine as an indication of continued Western aggressive aims, it is likely to fall on stony soil among the Middle Eastern peoples; and it has met with open hostility from the majority of world opinion. President Eisenhower, in his conversations with Premier Nehru on the Middle East, concealed these military intentions ('the military aspects of the plan were not discussed with Mr. Nehru', *The Times*, 4.1.57), as also 'the British and French Governments had not been consulted about the President's proposals' (*The Times*, 9.1.57). The Eisenhower Doctrine has been publicly condemned by the representatives of the most numerous nations of the world, by the Soviet Union, China and India. British and French comment has been torn between welcome for the prospect of renewed imperialist aggression in the Middle East and mortification at their own pointed exclusion.

Gloomy Inheritance

Premier Macmillan has indeed succeeded to an encumbered inheritance. The Suez military adventure, which he continues to defend, has had a manifestly disastrous effect equally on Britain's international position and on the home economic situation. Foreign opinion has not minced words. Sir Anthony Eden turned the Suez issue into a personal duel with President Nasser; and it was the British Premier that fell.* Suez, according to the *Hindustan Times*, the principal organ of Indian big business opinion, has 'written off Britain for good in the Middle East and throughout the world'. Similar views have been expressed by American commentators about Britain and France being reduced to the level of second class powers. The United States, proclaimed Walter Lippmann on January 18, 'is now the only real Great Power of the non-communist world'. Only the Soviet organ *Pravda* had a kindly and wiser word for Britain in her hour of troubles:

> To say that Britain has ceased to be a Great Power would be premature. However, one cannot fail to see that Britain's foreign policy leaves out of account her real opportunities just as it disregards the spirit of the times and the current balance of world forces.

What is evident, and universally recognised by all international comment, whether friendly or hostile, is that the recovery of Britain

*In the November Notes, written on October 15, we had occasion to remark:

> 'Nasser's stand on behalf of the Egyptian people has lifted up the whole British labour movement, dealt a shattering blow to bipartisanship, and sparked a current which may yet bring down Eden and Toryism'.

The first part of this programme in respect of Eden has been fulfilled. It remains to fulfil the second part.

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requires a radical break with the past policies which have led to such a disastrous outcome, and a turn to a new line of policy. Is there any evidence that the Macmillan Cabinet understands this, is capable of making such a turn, or even desires to make such a turn?

Greatness by Incantation

Certainly the first broadcast of the new Premier was obsessed by the concern to claim that Britain was not down and out, and was not relegated to the ranks of a second class power. Again and again he insisted that Britain was a Great Power and would remain a Great Power.

> Every now and again since the war I've heard people say: 'Isn't Britain only a second or third class Power now? Isn't she on the way out?' What nonsense. This is a great country, and don't let's be ashamed to say so. . . .
>
> Don't let's have any more defeatist talk of second class Powers and dreadful things to come. Britain has been great, is great and will stay great, provided we close our ranks and get on with the job.

The gentleman doth protest too much. Greatness does not come by assertion.

A Barren Programme

Not without justice the *Observer* commented:

> It is obviously not enough to assert confidently that one is great. To do so merely sounds as if one doubts it. 'Why do you talk so big—you're not *that* small', as the saying goes.

The decisive question is: What policy shall Britain pursue? What are the lessons of the Suez debacle? It is no use to invoke the memory of James Watt in one breath, that is, the memory of the vanished days of ascending capitalism in Britain, and in the next breath to reaffirm the policies of the Suez debacle, that is, the policies of Britain's decline. Nor will it avail to proclaim that Britain's greatness will be achieved 'provided we close our ranks and get on with the job' (no doubt also 'put our shoulder to the wheel' and 'all pull together'). This is not a policy. This is only the drowsy Clubman's dream of a rousing appeal to the nation. When it comes to policy, the bleak barrenness of the land is revealed from the standpoint of the perspectives of capitalism.

'Europe Limited'

The new vision of the Macmillan-Thorneycroft-Eccles team is to turn to the project of the so-called 'European Common Market', that is, to the proposal that Britain should link up with the six-power treaty now under negotiation between France, Western Germany,

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Italy and Benelux for a customs union. The project is not a new one. In some respects it is a very old mirage of 'super-capitalism' concealing a hard core of tough bargaining between competitive interests. The propagandist picture is a simple one. Britain can no longer compete in size or industrial power with the Soviet Union or the United States. Let us therefore combine the 250 millions of capitalist Western Europe (miscalled 'Europe') into a single economic entity, with possible future political integration, and a vast African colonial empire as its base. Behold! We have created a 'Great Power' capable of standing up on equal terms to the giants of the Soviet Union and the United States. Such was the inspiring simplified vision presented by Mr. Macmillan's broadcast. The reality is not so simple.

Dream and Reality

When we are dealing with Western Europe we are not dealing with a geographical void to be filled in according to taste, or an imaginary entity of an armchair political planner. We are not even dealing only with living historical nations, with their own traditions and cultures; for the modern finance-capitalists have long shown that they have scant concern for such to them obsolete national considerations, witness Vichy France sold out to Hitler or the mortgaging of Western Europe to the United States. We are dealing with monopoly capitalism. Certainly the expansionist drive of modern monopoly capital stretches out beyond the cramping framework of the traditional nation-states which were built by the earlier ascending capitalism. But when the expansionist strivings of the monopoly capitalist groupings of Western Europe reach out beyond the national frontiers within Western Europe, those expansionist interests are competitive, not united. Within the conditions of monopoly capitalism the path of integration, towards which economic development presses, is the path of domination of the stronger over the weaker, as Hitler's 'United Europe' showed, not of co-operation.

Pan-Europe

The history of Pan-Europe since the first world war (and indeed earlier, as in the slogan of the 'United States of Europe' exposed by Lenin in 1915), has passed through a variety of successive stages; the Pan-Europa movement of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi; Churchill's attempt in 1940 to incorporate France in the British Empire; Hitler's 'New European Order' during the second world war; of the 'Third

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Force' theories of reaction and social democracy after the second world war. All these projects have been an amalgam of counter-revolutionary dreams to build a common front against the socialist revolution, and of concrete ambitions of the more powerful monopoly capitalist groupings to extend their grip over weaker competitors. It is the latter element that has provided the solid substratum for the vapourings of the ideologues. Only to the extent that there has developed an actual interlocking and fusion of monopolies has the ground been prepared for schemes of closer economic integration through state forms. In respect of the French *Comité des Forges* and the Ruhr steel barons these tendencies had developed considerably already between the wars, and found reflection in the European Steel Cartel, which proved a very powerful menace to British steel interests. The same tendencies constitute the hard core of the present six-nation plan.

Battle for Western Europe

But the relations of British monopoly capital and West German monopoly capital are not the relations of close interlocking and fusion. They are the relations of deadly battle for supremacy in production costs and in the conquest of markets. In this battle West German monopoly capital has been gaining during the recent period at the expense of the British. Despite all the sunshine pictures of Mr. Thorneycroft about rising British exports, the relative British share in the world total has declined.

> The United Kingdom's share of world exports of manufactures in the first nine months of this year was 19·3 per cent., compared with 20 per cent. in the comparable period of 1955.
>
> (*Board of Trade Journal*, 29.12.56.)

Between 1953 and the second quarter of 1956 the total of capitalist world exports rose by 25 per cent., West European by 37 per cent., but British by 21 per cent. During the first half of 1956 West German exports into the sterling area increased by 23 per cent., British only by 2 per cent. Thus West German competition has been reducing Britain's hold even within the preserves of the British Empire. How much more would it not do so within the ring wall of a West European Common Market. Between the wars Britain stood outside the West European economic integration moves. There were very obvious reasons for that refusal to participate. The fact that British monopoly capital now proposes to come in, rather than face the competition of the six-nation plan dominated by West Germany, is a measure of Britain's weakness.

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Contradictions

But once the plans are brought to the test of practice, the contradictions emerge on every side. Each participant puts forward its own reservations and qualifications. Britain is concerned to protect its connections with the Commonwealth by excluding agricultural produce from the common market. France is concerned for its colonial empire in Africa, and also raises the question of its higher social service costs compared with the level in West Germany (a very significant difference, as the Saarlanders found out when they were incorporated in West Germany). The essence of the common market means the unlimited competition of the rival manufacturing interests, with the advantage to those interests with lower production costs, that is, in practice, to West German monopoly capital to dominate the enlarged area. It means a blow to higher standards in any component country, equally to the higher wage levels in Britain or the higher social service levels in France. The conception of economic integration involves the conception of mobility of capital and mobility of labour. It means the export of Italian unemployment. Lower standards drive down higher. The idealistic aim of the European Common Market conceals the very practical aim of the economic offensive against the workers to cut down production costs within each country. That the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party should fall for this scheme would be the gravest betrayal of the interests of the working class.

General Speidel in Command

As a symbol of the New European Order Hitler's General Speidel is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the European Armies of the North Atlantic Treaty. Rommel's former aide is to give the orders to the British Army of the Rhine, and the ordinary British soldier is left wondering who won the war. The domination of West Germany in the new Western Europe is translated into the military sphere. That defence expenditure has to be cut has now become common ground, recognised also by the Macmillan Government. But they are trying to reduce the costs without changing the policy. They continue to resist the Soviet proposals for the reduction of armaments or even the banning of tests. They continue to resist the Soviet proposals for the immediate reduction of armies of occupation in Germany, with a view to advancing to a European Security Treaty replacing the North Atlantic Treaty and Warsaw Pact, the unification of Germany within such a framework, and the withdrawal of all occupying armed forces from Europe. They continue

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their war in Cyprus, send additional troops to Northern Ireland, and stipulate that British armed forces shall continue to operate in Malaya after the proclamation of independence of the Malayan Federation. They want to continue the commitments and reduce the costs. Under such conditions any proposals for cutting the costs can only become limited measures for economy, but not that basic change in policy which can alone lift the weight of the crippling arms burden from Britain. They are trying to square the circle.

Cold War at Home

Hence the real essence of the new Government's policy stands out clear and inescapable. For all the problems of Britain's worsening economic situation and weakening competitive strength their solution is to drive down production costs at the expense of the standards of the people. This is the real content of all their pæans of praise for the principles of competitive enterprise and denunciations of 'drab equality'. Rising rents; rising prices; the credit squeeze and high rates of interest; rising unemployment; the fear of the sack; and restraint on wages. This is the manifest significance of the only new appointment of the Ministry: the inclusion of the most notorious hard-faced representative of Big Business to become the Minister of Power. The engineering workers know Sir Percy Mills of old. They know his permanent rôle to block every wage demand. His memorandum on the Budget, presented on behalf of the British Chamber of Commerce, and expressing the most open demands of Big Business for benefits for the rich and to squeeze the workers, was delivered only the month before his appointment. The new Minister of Power is not only to be the Minister of electric power or atomic power. He is to be the Minister of Class Power. The appointment of Sir Percy Mills is itself a programme.

The Ball at Labour's Feet

The challenge is open. The call to battle is here. Labour can fight and win. Never has a Ministry opened amid such universal discredit. The measure of the newspaper polls or of the Melton Mowbray by-election, with its over 7 per cent. Conservative drop on the eve of Eden's fall, has shown the mind of the people and the opportunity for Labour. But opportunity needs to be taken. The Labour Party has called for a new general election. The Communist Party has not only called for a new general election, but for a campaign with the entire strength of a united movement to compel it.

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Such a campaign can only rouse the people if it is fought for a plain alternative policy to that of the Macmillan Government. We cannot expect to go into a victorious fight when there is a confusion of voices at the top; when Mr. Gaitskell praises the Eisenhower Doctrine and Mr. Bevan, with a closer sense of the feeling of the people, condemns it; when some support the demands for higher wages and others deplore them; when some support the resistance of the tenants to the rents offensive and others dilate on the necessity for higher rents; when some call for the advance to extended nationalisation and socialism and others decry such notions as exploded superstitions. The battle against the Tory Government must be combined with the battle for an alternative policy capable of meeting the needs of Britain and winning the enthusiasm of the people. In the present precarious balance of the international situation, when Britain can turn the balance, Britain can indeed be great. But Britain can only be great on the basis of a progressive international policy alongside the progressive forces of the world for peace, disarmament and national liberation, and a home policy that responds to the needs of the people and opens the way for the decisive social and economic changes that are imperative. Such is the call which the present international situation and the challenge of the Macmillan Government sounds to all sections of the labour movement today to advance in unity and win the majority of the people.

January 21, 1957. R.P.D.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS . . .

The task confronting all class-conscious workers at the present stage is to build up the struggle at the present point, in the immediate concrete issues, in the immediate defensive against the employers' attacks, on the basis of the factories; inevitably at first on a small scale and on the smallest concrete issues, but building upwards from below to growing strength. In this work all can join who seek to carry forward actively the workers' struggle. And at the same time the task of political clarification, of facing and threshing out the issues of the whole situation, can go forward alongside the daily struggle, and carried forward by the experience of the struggle.

From *The Labour Monthly Conference—A Review*, February, 1932.

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

THE British people are not strongly colour-conscious. They are probably more so than most Europeans, but undoubtedly less so than most Americans. Many white persons, including Britishers, say they are instinctively allergic to coloured people; a great many say that they could not think of marriage to anyone coloured. But most of us accept Africans, Asians, Caribbeans in our midst without resentment, not seeking their company, perhaps, but ready that they should live their own lives. It is only when social or economic fears and conflicts arise that anti-colour feeling becomes strong.

The colour problem in Britain is often exaggerated. Our population is over 50 millions. The number of coloured immigrants by 1956 was 150,000. Our total labour force is 22 million. Only one employed person in 146 is coloured. The problem appears bigger, of course, in districts where coloured persons are concentrated, in Birmingham and a wider Midland area, in Brixton, Paddington and Stepney in London, in ports like Liverpool, Cardiff and Newcastle. It is here that the social and economic problems of West Indian and other coloured immigration loom larger.

The first problem is housing. It is not unnatural that there should be resentment when immigrants arrive and compete for accommodation when long housing lists and overcrowding exist among the resident population. In Birmingham, for example, there are 62,000 families on the waiting list in a population of 1,100,000. In London there are 165,000 families on the housing list. Resentment fastens on the coloured immigrants because they are easily recognisable; in fact, white immigrants often number more. For example, 45,000 Irish people come to this country annually. Sometimes resentment extends to the Irish, but they are not so obvious.

The difficulty of house-competition is complicated by the fact that many coloured immigrants are accustomed to more primitive and crowded accommodation than our people. This is an indictment of social conditions in British colonies, but the lower standards affect surrounding conditions, and the immigrants are often scandalously exploited by unscrupulous landlords. Sometimes six people will sleep on the floor of one room and will be charged anything up to £1 a week for the privilege. Unfortunately, because they are aware of

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the opportunity, better-off coloured persons often become the landlords, buying houses on short leases cheaply and extorting a high revenue whilst the going is good.

The answer to these causes of colour resentment lies fundamentally in a solution of the general housing problem. Every member of parliament should know how desperate this problem is: one in four of my letters from constituents are still concerned with housing needs. The Tory pretence that the problem will be near solution by the end of this year is tragically far from the fact. Indeed, Tory policy is aggravating the problem. The withdrawal of the subsidy and the high interest charges are making house-building by local authorities almost impossible except in areas where rates can be levied on a considerable proportion of wealthier property owners. The Rent Bill will make things still worse. The general rise of rents will intensify the difficulty of coloured immigrants in finding reasonable accommodation. It will add to the competition with British residents. This is not really a colour problem. It is part of a problem of which British people are the main victims. Our anger should be turned not against the one person in 333 of our population who is coloured. It should be turned against the Government which is so indifferent to our housing needs.

From a national economic point of view the presence of immigrants should be welcome. We still need an expansion of production and Government policy should aim at that instead of restriction by the credit squeeze and its accompanying measures. Even with that policy, unemployment is slightly over one per cent. There has been so far little reason for resentment against immigration, whether coloured or white, on the ground of taking jobs which would otherwise go to our workers. But this has not been so true of areas like Birmingham and Coventry, and now Dagenham, affected by the dismissals in the motor car industry, and it will not be so true if unemployment extends, as it is likely to do, in consequence of the economic difficulties, of which the shortage of petrol is only one, arising from the Government's wicked assault on Egypt and the Suez Canal.

Even before these recent developments, fear of the effects of coloured immigration on employment and standards of life was widespread among our workers. They were apprehensive that full employment might not continue. They asked themselves what would be the effect of having in our midst workers accustomed to a lower standard of life. This fear was shared by many workers who did not harbour any colour prejudice. As far as resentment existed, the cause was economic, not racial.

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The first answer to this problem is to enrol the coloured workers in our trades unions. Experience shows that when they are welcomed, they make good trade unionists. It was noteworthy that in the Birmingham car industry strikes, coloured workers who had been invited to join the unions were eager to do picket duty: when they acted with the blacklegs it was because they had been ignored.

The fundamental answers are two. First, we must change the economic policy of the Government and get a Government which will begin to plan on socialist principles. Second, we must help to establish conditions in the territories from which the coloured immigrants come giving them the opportunity of employment and a good life. The coloured immigrants do not come to Britain for the sake of our climate. How they must long for their sun-lit shores! Some of them come because they want to see the world of which they have read. But most of them booked their tickets to escape from the poverty in their own lands. They are economic refugees. In Jamaica there was 10 per cent. unemployment last year, and the figure is rising. The workers on the sugar plantations are employed only seasonally. Sugar in the West Indies, although it is grown there, costs 1d. more per pound than for British housewives. Bread costs 1s. 10½d. a loaf.

The most effective way to remove the danger of undercutting by coloured immigrants is to provide them with an opportunity for a satisfying life in their native lands. In most cases these lands are British colonies. It is our duty to plan economic aid and construction without exploitation.

If this analysis of the colour problem in Britain is correct, the cause of resentment is social and economic rather than racial, though social and economic reasons may lead to the emergence of feelings which are perhaps in the sub-conscious of many. Nevertheless, most coloured people in Britain will recount instances of colour prejudice. They meet it most often when applying for lodgings. Landladies often reflect not only their own instincts but a fear of what other lodgers or their neighbours may say. The effect of being turned away from a door on the ground of colour is, however, very deep. It may create a bitterness which no subsequent human fellowship will entirely restore.

Education and experience can alone entirely remove colour prejudice in individuals; but as a community we also have a duty. We should not permit racial distinction to apply in any public sphere. It is for this reason I have introduced in parliament the Racial Discrimination Bill. This measure would prohibit discrimination on

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grounds of race, colour or religion in hotels, places of entertainment, or shops. It would not allow any lease to include a discriminating clause. It would not permit employment or promotion to be denied for colour, racial or religious reasons. It would insist that the rate for the job be paid irrespective of these distinctions. It is important that this Bill should be passed because of its effects in Britain. It would be its effect abroad.

In the South African Union, in the Rhodesias and Kenya, every report of colour discrimination in Britain is head-lined in the newspapers to prove that we are no better in practice than their laws which openly authorise discrimination. It was a South African University lecturer who stimulated me to introduce the Bill by saying that such a measure would do more to help the advocates of racial equality in the Union than any other single step. Two-thirds of the human race is coloured. If in our shrinking world we are to live as a human family, colour prejudice must go.

MONTAGU SLATER 1902 - 1956

Montagu Slater as a young journalist served on the Liverpool Post, *the* Observer, *the* Daily Telegraph *and* Reynolds News, *building up for himself a reputation as one of the best descriptive reporters of his generation, while in later years he wrote dramatic and television criticism for the* New Statesman and Nation. *He early gravitated to the revolutionary working class movement, joining the Communist Party in 1932 and taking his full part in the local and national activity during the Hungry Thirties in the St. Pancras (London) branch, and as a reporter on the* Daily Worker.

His literary activity began with his play Easter, 1916, *an outstanding episode in the struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism, first performed in 1935. This was followed by a whole series of reporting, fictional, poetic and dramatic works ranging over past and present struggles in Britain such as :* Who Rides a Tiger, Once a Jolly Swagman, *and* Englishmen with Swords. *Of his script writing the most famous is his libretto in verse (based on Crabbe's poem) for Benjamin Britten's opera* Peter Grimes, *while his last work was the script for the Communist Party's October, 1956* Pageant of London's People. The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta *(1955) is a magnificent condensation of the proceedings (nearly a million words in length) of the 1952-53 trial at Kapenguria, in Kenya, that lasted five months and occupied the court a hundred days.*

Montagu Slater throughout his life remained modest and unassuming, ever ready to learn from others and eager to absorb new experiences—witness his journey across the Atlantic in the airship R.100 and his travels in Uganda and Nigeria and Rumania. He was an unswerving fighter against British imperialism and a champion of the need for the unshakeable unity of British and Colonial workers in this struggle.

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ECONOMIC FORECAST: SET STORMY

HENRY COLLINS

AN acute dilemma faces the men who make economic policy for Britain. For eight years following the end of the war Britain was devoting a smaller proportion of her national income to productive investment than any of her competitors. The implications of this for the country's prospects in the export markets of the world were menacing and the Government tried, by tax reliefs and investment allowances, to induce the capitalist class to invest more of its surplus value in expanding productive equipment. These efforts were eventually rewarded and in 1954 and 1955 productive investment rose rapidly. The result was a crisis in the balance of payments of such magnitude that a post-election budget was deemed necessary in the autumn of 1955 accompanied by the raising of the bank rate to the highest level in a quarter of a century and an intensification of the credit squeeze which brought hardship to thousands of small business men.

In an economy grossly overloaded by 'defence' expenditure an increase in the level of investment is dangerous. It expands at the same time the demand for imports and the forces making for inflation—and a higher domestic price level inevitably handicaps exports. While it would be most desirable, from the Tory point of view, to offset these pressures by reducing the level of the social services and of working class consumption, this would carry political dangers. Industrially, too, under conditions of full employment, labour needs to be handled with kid gloves. Hence the dilemma.

The combined effects of high bank rate and credit squeeze were, in a peculiar way, successful. The government succeeded in stopping the increase in production that was causing it so much embarrassment. The Gross National Income, which had been expanding by 4-5 per cent between 1952 and 1955 stopped expanding in 1956. For this stagnation in the economy the government's policy was entirely to blame.

During 1955 the level of gross investment in fixed capital was higher, by 7½ per cent, than during 1954. This would have made it possible, in the absence of government restraint, to expand production at an even faster rate than during the previous three years. The

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Gross National Income for 1955 was approximately £16,500 million. Assuming a rate of expansion of only 4 per cent this would have produced about £650 million more in goods and services than was in fact produced. 'The extra output foregone—the measure of the slack'—writes the *Economist* on January 5, 1957, 'is conventionally guessed at some £500-£750 million in 1956. . . . The guess could be conservative'.

This amount of wealth was lost to the nation even before the attack on Suez. The direct cost of that piece of aggression was estimated by *The Times* at between £130 and £150 million. The indirect cost, including production lost and transport dislocated through the fuel shortage which will certainly get worse, is so far incalculable. But to say that the Tory follies of 1956, economic and military, cost Britain well over £1,000 million, is to do no one an injustice.

It is still not clear what will be the government's economic policy for 1957. As often happens, economists are giving contradictory advice. Some are asking for a relaxation of credit policy. Their argument is that, since past policies had already begun to work in reducing the rate of industrial investment, and since the effects of Suez will be to reduce production further, a continuation of present policies might induce a depression by the end of the year.

There is some truth in this. Factory building starts, measured by area of floor space, were down by 20 per cent in the second quarter of 1956 compared with the same quarter of 1955. Though unemployment had not yet begun to grow on a large scale, working class earnings were being affected by a growth of short time and a loss of overtime. As early as April, 1956 (latest figures available) increases in working class earnings were less than increases in wage rates. (Earnings being made up of wage rates plus any production bonuses and overtime earnings that may accrue, if earnings increase by less than wage rates this necessarily means that short time is increasing and overtime decreasing.) This has not happened since the recession of 1952. At least for the first half of its run, 1957 will be like 1956 only more so. Industrial production will decline as a result of shortages of oil and transport and a shortage of shipping space which will reduce the supply of imported raw materials. Unemployment will grow further, short time will increase and earnings from overtime and production bonuses will decline further. Transport and material shortages will, it is hoped, be temporary, and the government is being advised to relax the credit restrictions

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so as to encourage more investment as soon as the emergency is over.

Other economists, members of a school which is usually influential under Tory governments, view the growth of unemployment and short time with more complacency. Full employment is seen by them as incompatible with the long term strategy of the City of London. The current issue of the *Times Review of Industry* publishes an article with the significant title 'Restoration of Reserves, a Prime Objective'. In a tone of regret the author writes:

> The development of national democratic politics has made governments choose internal economic objectives before external ones. Full employment and even over-full employment is preferred to stability of money.

By 'stability of money' is meant a 'strong' pound, backed by ample reserves of gold and dollars and able to look the dollar in the face. With such ample reserves it is hoped to resume the export of capital which has been a characteristic feature of the British economy since the mid-nineteenth century. To achieve this the interests of the workers and of a section of the capitalists would have to be sacrificed ruthlessly. This would be a repeat performance of Britain's return to the gold standard in 1925 under conditions most detrimental to production and exports. The results of that experiment included the General Strike of 1926 and contributed to the economic crisis of 1929. It may very reasonably be asked why, in view of the economic and social costs, the Tories are so keen on re-creating the conditions of the 1920s and why they give such priority to the resumption of large scale capital exports.

The answer was given by John Eaton in these columns in September, 1956. In his article *Background to the Tory Squeeze* Eaton pointed out that the export of capital overseas does more than merely provide profits on the immediate investment:

> An initial export of capital serves as a stepping stone to economic advantages of various kinds. It will serve as a starting point to further accumulation of capital out of surplus value produced as a result of it; but it also establishes an economic foothold which helps British monopolies to assert a domination in other fields, such as merchanting, insurance, banking, shipping and so forth.

There are consequently powerful business groups which favour continuing the deflationary policy so as to force down working class consumption and release resources for investment overseas. Many Tories see the resumption of large scale capital export as a means of re-asserting the influence of British capital in parts of the sterling area where it is being rapidly ousted by American.

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The continuation of present economic policies, however, not only imposes unnecessary sufferings on the working class and provokes their resistance; it also reduces the supply of capital to British industry at a time when German and American industry are forging ahead. As Eden's Suez policy represented a desperate attempt to strengthen a waning British influence in the Middle East and ended by destroying it altogether, so Macmillan's economic policy will cripple British industry in the face of its competitors.

Andrew Shonfield, foreign editor of the *Financial Times*, writing in *Encounter* (January, 1957) says that in the light of post-war economic history 'Britain's pretensions to be a capital-exporting country look like delusions of grandeur'. Delusions of grandeur, however, are an occupational disease of declining empires, as the recent history of France shows only too clearly.

Faced by remorseless and growing pressure in all directions Macmillan confronts the additional dilemma of the so-called European Common Market (in fact a West-European Common Market). Conservatives are tempted to see this project as a possible answer to the ousting of British by American influence in the Empire and Middle East. If the Common Market is formed and Britain remains outside, she will be partly shut off from 160 million potential customers. If she joins, her industries will face much more intense competition from Western Germany.

The policy of shedding a large part of the burden of arms expenditure, of looking for customers among the 900 millions in the Socialist world and of nationalising monopolies so as to modernise industry according to a rational plan, can hardly commend itself to a government of monopoly capital. The replacement of Eden by Macmillan represents more than a change of moustaches. *The Times* said truthfully that 'it is the older strain of Conservatism that is the more likely to welcome his appointment'. If at the moment the new government seems paralysed by its dilemma it will not remain so indefinitely. More vigorous steps against full employment, against the social services and against wages are certain. Colonial repression will continue and the risk of further crazy adventures will remain so long as Tories occupy the seats of power. The barometer is set stormy for 1957.

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CHINA FIRST SEEN

(Leaves from a diary)

September 19, 1956.

OUR aeroplane flies high over the monotony of the Gobi desert. The Outer Barbarians for four millennia entered China from the North, for the last four centuries mainly from the southern sea-board. We follow the older trail, speeding hour after hour where once it was month after month. Jagged peaks ahead suddenly thrust up: but soon they are below us. The long snake writhing beneath is the Great Wall of China: and a few minutes later a tall pagoda near the airport makes it certain that the pilot has made no mistake and that we are landing in China, and at Peking.

The road from the airport, thronged with man and beast, shows nearly every kind of haulage since wheels were first made. Men on bicycles as numerous as in Cambridge, men on tricycles pulling a seated single passenger in a chair on wheels, men in the cabs of lorries or driving limousines (from Poland, Soviet Union or the United States); mules between the shafts with a tracer donkey pulling ahead, ponies with pack-saddles, here and there a wain of oxen, droves of camels carrying coal; and finally ten human beings with ropes over their shoulders hauling a vast load of stone or timber, just as they did to build the Great Wall two thousand years ago. The old and the new, seen in juxtaposition, is China today. But the rick-shaw is already gone from the big cities: and the sedan-chair is seldom seen. Besides transport, all social-economic forms of society co-exist today among this fourth of mankind: but everywhere the old is yielding to the new.

Peking, girdled with triple walls, is a medieval city, of single-storied houses, around the world-famous imperial palaces of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Beyond the walls new broad thoroughfares and lofty new buildings are springing up with the speed of Aladdin's palace. Most of the ancient inland cities of China, I am told, are like this, walled like Peking; and beyond the walls new sites, new constructions.

October 19, 1956. The seaports are different. These are the most recent, the Pleistocene as it were, of old China's stratified society, showing layer upon layer of imperialist deposits, nearly all in the last hundred years. The hugest of these deposits is Shanghai, more recent than Chicago and much bigger. 'Hell is a city much like London', wrote the poet. So is Shanghai. Or rather it was so while

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the imperialist powers and the tools of imperialism held it. Yesterday morning, our host, who as an old revolutionary spent many years in a prison of Chiang Kai-shek, told us about this vast town in which he now graces the office of the Procurator.

Shanghai had been 'a paradise of adventurers, warlords and capitalists' some of them in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang. Was there anywhere in the 20th century a place like this fourth largest of all the cities of the world in which a man or woman could get rich so quick, do so much profiteering, become a multi-millionaire, on exploitation rates that must have gone up to over thousands per cent.? With no steep income tax that I ever heard of or property tax, so far as I could understand (and with no tax of any kind that could not be avoided at a cost of a bribe), they had nothing to do but to spend their money on mansions and palaces in a city which combines the appearance of Threadneedle Street and Hoxton, but Hoxton on a vaster scale, with slums far more sordid. From 1843 onwards the British imperialists used this Treaty Port as a dumping market. They had concessions of the various nations which had subsequently joined together in an 'International Settlement'; separate and larger than all these was the French concession, later the Japanese concession. The Chinese lived in 'the Chinese quarter' or across the Whampoa river in Woo Sung and Nantow. The imperialists controlled in this city the water, gas, electricity. They set up textile mills. They sold their imports, they dumped raw materials such as raw cotton and tobacco, especially the United States. There was the Asiatic Petroleum Company, the Standard Oil Company, indeed, all the oil monopolies and other monopolies. These all belonged to the dark ages of Shanghai.

Besides, the city was given over to the gangsters. There were robberies, gangsters, open thefts, hooligans, suitcase-snatching from pedicabs; even the beggars in gangs, under leaders; shoplifting galore, while the robbers were in league with the police chiefs. In 1946 in Shanghai there were 10,444 cases of robbery with violence. Prostitution was openly carried on. There were 800 brothels.

But at the same time it was a crucible of revolution. On July 1, 1921, the Communist Party was formed in Shanghai, and here was its centre until in 1932 the Central Committee moved to the Red Army base in Kiangsi province. There were the great strikes of 1925, of October, 1926, of March, 1927. When the Northern Expedition prepared by Dr. Sun Yat-sen advanced early in 1927 towards Shanghai, the working class rose and set up a people's government.

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It was then that there came the betrayal followed by the Kuomintang massacre of the working class in connection with Chiang Kai-shek's *coup d'etat* on April 27, 1927. A right opportunist at that time was leader of the Chinese Communist Party. He advocated conciliation with the Kuomintang, but the Kuomintang was ruthless. It was a lesson.

Many bitter lessons were learned by the Chinese Communist Party in the years that followed, when first opportunist and then repeated left sectarian policies brought disaster after disaster, with incalculable losses; and not until 1935, on the Long March itself, did Mao Tse-tung win full majority support for his saner policy and wise leadership. Since 1945, when at the Seventh Congress these disastrous earlier policies were fully analysed and their sources laid bare, the ten million and more members of this party have taken the lessons to heart. Hence the continuous drive against arrogance, arbitrariness, rashness, self-sufficiency, self-conceit, subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucracy; the denunciation of 'habits of pretending to be clever, of not consulting the masses, of forcing one's opinion on others, of persisting in errors to keep up one's prestige'. Hence the insistence, now stressed all the more that for seven years the party has been in power and playing the leading rôle in all the work of the state, upon humility, modesty and prudence; on learning from the people, on serving the people heart and soul, 'on coming from the masses and going back to the masses'.

As I heard this, I remembered words uttered a few weeks earlier at the Eighth Congress, of how not only the victory of 1949 and the land reform of the next three years but also their other achievements hung upon this.*

The whole Chinese people, over a longer period, have also learned bitter lessons. One way after another they tried to climb out of the pit of humiliation and hunger to which they had been doomed by semi-feudal landlordism, war-lord banditry and the super-bandits from Europe, the Americas and Japan. One way after another left them frustrated. At last in the 'forties all China came to know that the main resistance to the Japanese invaders was put up by the ill-equipped People's Liberation Army, which went on to win its

*In less than three years after the liberation of the whole country, we changed the appallingly corrupt social climate of the old society into a new social climate with a fine moral character. How could such results have been obtained without the conscious and voluntary participation of the masses, without their mutual education, mutual persuasion and help? We have completely wiped out the evil of opium-smoking, and have won victories in our large-scale patriotic public health movement, in production, construction and various other kinds of work. Which one of these victories could have been won if the movement or the task in question had not actually reflected the demands of the broad masses and been translated into conscious and voluntary action by them?—(Teng Hsiao-ping, 16.9.1956.)

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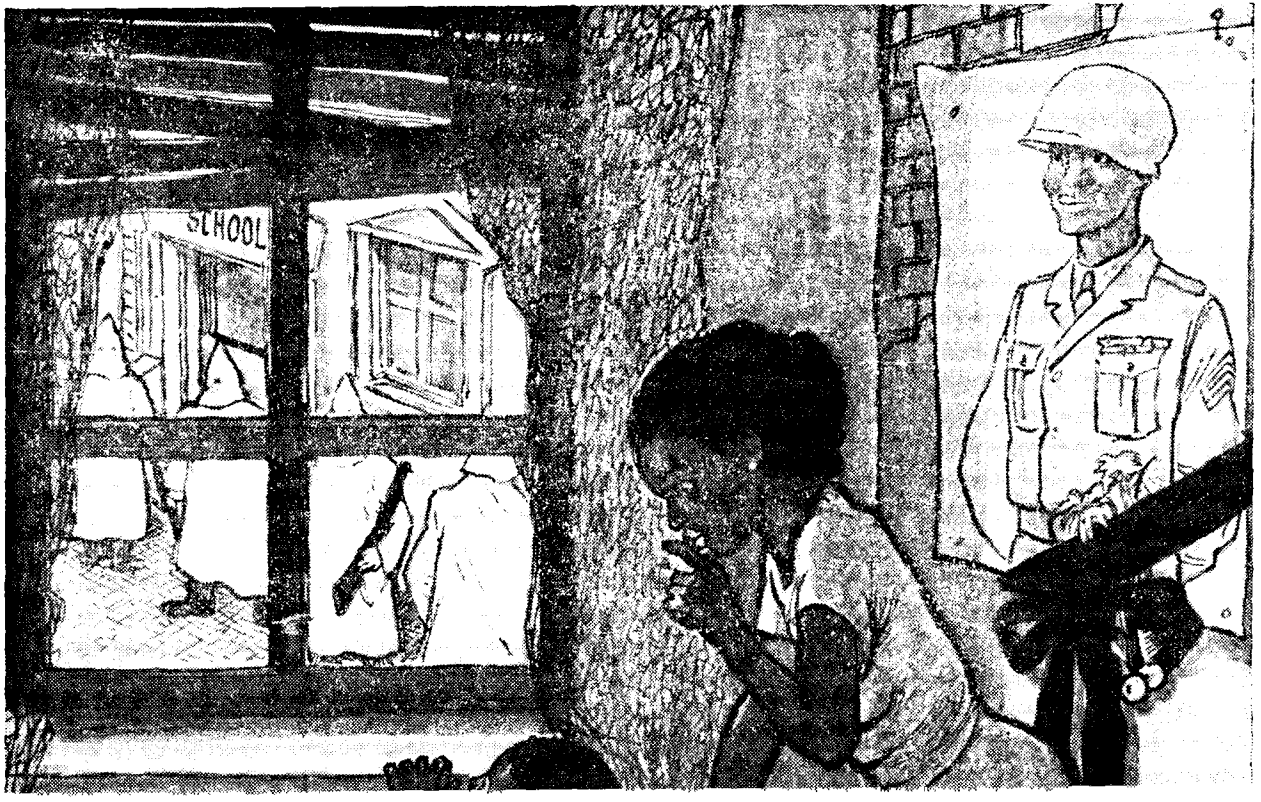
LIFE'S SCHOOL



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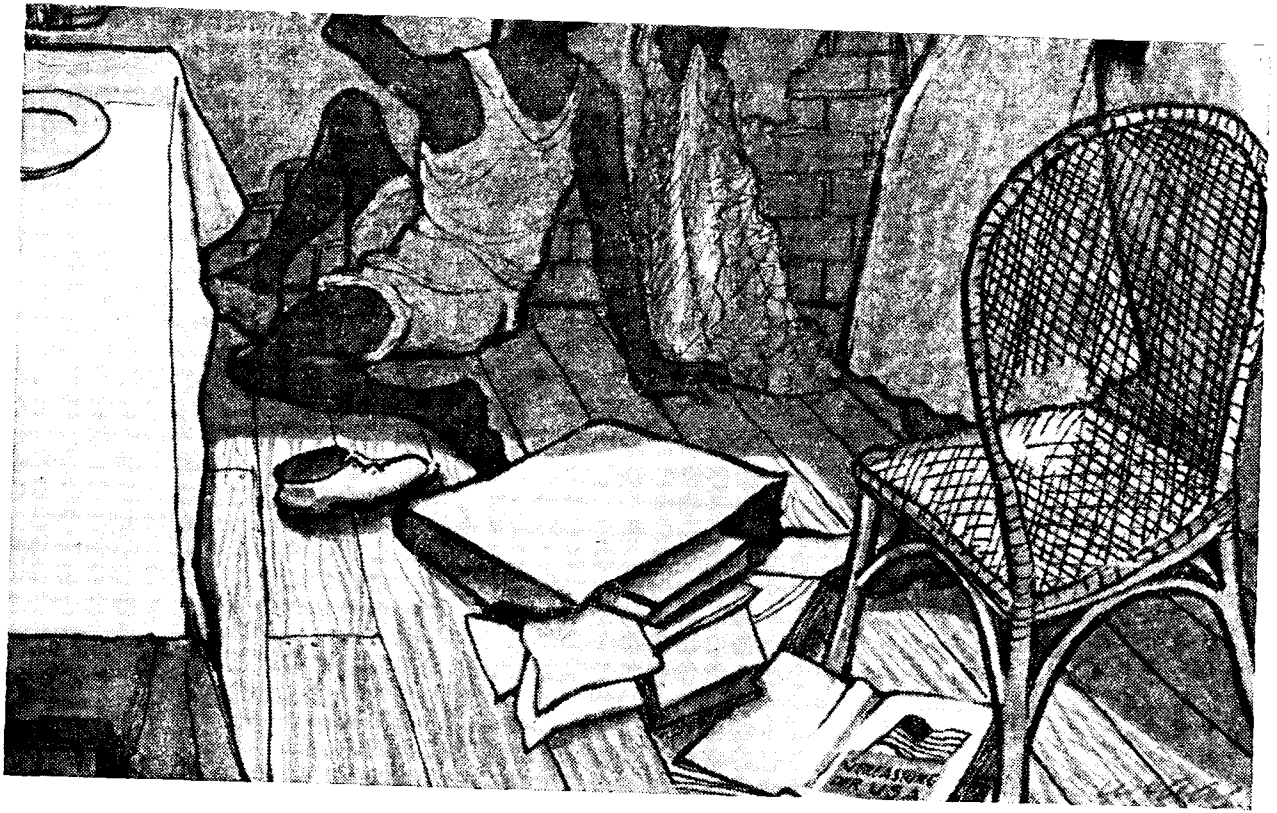

Drawn by LEO HAAS

"Don't cry, Jackie, learn!"

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victories over the United States aggressors and the tools of imperialism. Citizens today of an independent sovereign state, the Chinese of any class know to whom they owe their deliverance: and there is no waiting for history books to tell who were 'the saviours of their country'. In Shanghai, cleaned up now and freed from its alien over-lords, there is a new pride in the New China.

Today Shanghai's population is 6,200,000, its area over 200 square miles—in which there are 26,000 factories, 203,000 commercial establishments, employing 1,318,000, of whom 800,000 are industrial, practically all organised in trade unions. Before liberation (1949) the Communists numbered 8,000; there were 160,000 in 1955.

After this talk we saw in a Workers' Cultural Palace a picture gallery with photographs of Shanghai from the first world war until liberation. Very moving, recalling the Hands Off China campaign in Britain in the 'twenties, the China Campaign Committee of the 'thirties and all the other activities and campaigns since then. Seeing those photographs I remembered what Tom Mann had told me in 1927 about the life and sufferings of the Chinese people. From Canton in the south, throughout the winter of 1926-27, Tom Mann had gone northwards to the cities of the Yangtsekiang valley, everywhere proclaiming to the Chinese workers the principles of trade unionism, holding aloft at great meetings his card of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. There were those in Shanghai who treasured the memory of having seen and heard Tom Mann.

R. PAGE ARNOT.

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BEN BRADLEY 1898 - 1957

The memory of Ben Bradley will be forever honoured as a champion of international working-class solidarity, both for what he did in Britain and for what he did in India. As a skilled craftsman and active trade unionist (at his death he had been a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union for 37 years and a member of the Communist Party since 1923), his sterling activity in the British trade union movement brought him the Award of Merit of his own trade union. From 1927 onwards, when he went to place his knowledge and energy at the disposal of the Indian workers, his name is inseparably connected with the rise of the organised working class movement in India. It was no easy task that he had undertaken. The Indian workers were beginning to rebel against inhuman conditions of exploitation, but organisation was still primitive, the Indian T.U.C. much influenced by middle-class nationalists, and imperialist rule suppressed all attempts at militant political organisation. Ben Bradley succeeded in establishing relations of fraternal solidarity between Indian and British workers and gave valuable help in building trade unions and peasant organisations—notably the Girni Kamgar union in Bombay, where the six months' textile strike of 1928 is historic. In 1928-29 he was elected a Vice-President of the Indian T.U.C.

The British Government determined to crush the movement in its infancy. In March, 1929, Labour leaders all over India, including Bradley, were arrested and put on trial in Meerut (where they could be tried without a jury) on the charge of conspiracy to deprive the King-Emperor of sovereignty over India. The trial dragged on for four years and the accused were kept in prison the whole time. Undaunted, Ben Bradley won the respect of all by his working-class staunchness. He never wavered or grumbled, but perseveringly helped the Indian comrades to make the fullest use of the trial for publicly defending working class principles and practice. Finally, his sentence (12 years) was reduced on appeal to one year. He was a tower of strength in keeping up the morale of the prisoners and mapping out the lines of future work. After his return to England in 1934 Bradley continued to take an active part in supporting the Indian class struggle and movement for national independence: and continued to the end his work for international solidarity, especially in these last years for the People's Republic of China. He was also a valued contributor to Labour Monthly, *from 1934 with his articles on* The Background in India, *and* The Anti-Imperialist People's Front in India *(written in collaboration with R. Palme Dutt in 1936), right on to his survey of* Empire and the Peoples *in 1954. His sincerity, class-conscious spirit, geniality and steadfast reliability belong to the best traditions of British militant trade unionism.*

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MARX AND THE FENIANS

[*In this issue we give further letters to Dr. Kugelmann. In the first letter below Jenny deals with the Fenians, the Irish national liberation movement of the 'sixties and 'seventies. Marx had consistently used his great influence within the First International to organise a campaign on behalf of the Irish and against their treatment by the government. Jenny shared her father's keen revolutionary standpoint: and at the end of the letter she refers to the events in France. In the Franco-Prussian war, begun in July, 1870, the French front armies were defeated in September. The Empire of Louis Bonaparte 'collapsed like a house of cards' and the Republic was again proclaimed. To withstand a siege, the Parisian workers enrolled in the National Guard and were armed. On January 8, 1871, Paris, almost starving, capitulated: and there came peace with the Prussians. But 'the supremacy of the propertied classes, large landowners and capitalists, was in constant danger so long as the workers of Paris had arms in their hands'. The government on March 17, 1871, demanded the surrender of arms. But 'Paris rallied as one man in defence of the guns, and war between Paris and the French government sitting at Versailles was declared'. Thus began the great episode in revolutionary working class history, the Commune of Paris, immortalised in Marx's Address to the International,* The Civil War in France. *Enlightening letters of Jenny Marx of November 19, 1870 ('all over France it appears that the ruling classes are much more anxious to exterminate the "reds" than the "Prussians"'), and of April 18, 1871, in the thick of the civil war, were published in our issue of March, 1956.—Ed. L.M.*]

January 27, 1871.

MY DEAR 'DOCTOR',

I need not tell you that the enclosed extraordinary confession of the *Spectator* (one of the most dignified and 'respectable' London papers) has given me much pleasure, and I am sure it will also amuse you and dear Trautchen to see the seven sages of the *Spectator* on the stool of repentance, crying *peccavi*. This same *Spectator* a few months ago, bullied the *Marseillaise*, as only a high dignitary can bully, for daring to believe 'Rossa's punishment exceeded that of ordinary convicts'. That punishment, it now declares, 'was torture not less brutal than the boot and torture unprecedented on this side

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of the Equator'. Whereas however, the *Spectator* has at least the courage to publish the facts revealed by the Commission, the cheap and nasty *Daily Telegraph* and the pharisaical *Daily News*, who denounced the accusations brought forward as the 'impudent inventions' of sensational writers, as 'apocryphal romances' now say *not a word* and thus hope to hide their own lies, those of the Saint Gladstone and his jackal Bruce, of the Governors, jailors, doctors of the prison. But now it is of little consequence what the venal time-serving press says or leaves unsaid. It cannot unmake the great fact that Rossa and most of his companions are free and have set out on their voyage—for they are exiled—to America. Hurrah! The British Government fearing the manifestation of enthusiasm with which the warm-hearted Irish would receive their released countrymen, bundled the Fenians off as quietly as possible and did not allow them to set foot on Irish soil. However, notwithstanding these precautions the noble band of 'convicts' received a welcome, according to the *Irishman*—affecting as to baffle all description. Steamers, great and small, boats, indeed every description of craft hung round Cork Harbour all day and when the 'Cuba' drew near and the prisoners were seen standing on deck passionate cries of delight filled the air. As the 'Cuba' lay at some distance from the other vessels, Rossa grew impatient at the delay in securing ropes and putting out ladders, jumped from his steamer into one of the small vessels and was locked in the arms of his friends. His last words on leaving whom were 'Hurrah for the Cause'! So you see the brutality of the British Government has not crushed the spirit out of these men and in America they will set to work with greater energy than ever. A few days ago a second batch of released Fenians started for America. The Irish people presented each of them with an overcoat, a wrapper and ten pounds. At New York the Irish at *one* meeting subscribed £5,000 for the prisoners. If the Irish are the poorest, they certainly are also the most generous people. Would the German people did one quarter as much for their political prisoners. It is disgraceful to think that next to nothing is being done for the families of the imprisoned authors of the Brunswick manifesto[1] and for the wives of Bebel[2] and Liebknecht.

I was very sorry indeed, my dear friend, to hear you have been so very ill, and hope you will soon let us know how you are getting on. As you do not speak of Trautchen and Franzchen, I trust I may conclude they are well. We are all as well as it is possible to be in these wretched times. The latest news from France has literally crushed us. Breton mobiles inside Paris and Prussian hordes outside

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combining to annihilate the Revolutionists of Montmartre, Bellville and La Villette! We have it from a good source that Trochu,[3] the Orleanist Jesuit, would not take the *offensive energetically* because in his absence he feared to hand over Paris to the 'Reds'. He prefers Bismarck[4] to Blanqui.[5] Trochu is more knave than fool—it is *his* fault if 500,000 men will have to surrender to 220,000.

With kindest regards to all I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

JENNY M.

[1]The Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democrats on September 5, 1870, issued a manifesto in which they wrote 'We protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine'. The signatories were arrested and taken in chains to the fortress of Lötzen.

[2]August Bebel (1840-1913), leader of the German Social Democratic Party, friend of Marx.

[3]L. J. Trochu (1815-1896), military governor of Paris, who sabotaged its defence, out of fear of the revolution.

[4]Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), Chancellor of the German Empire from 1871 to 1890.

[5]Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), French revolutionary, whose adherents were active members of the General Council of the First International

[*In this letter, we get a glimpse of the difficulties that beset Marx in his work on the second volume of* Capital*—and also of the strength of family affection. Minor personal details are omitted.*]

April 3, 1871.

DEAR DR. KUGELMANN,

You lecture me on the necessity of Mohr's completing his great work, fulfilling his mission. Rest assured, my dear friend, *I need no such spur,* my father's little finger being more precious to me than all the books that ever have or ever will be written. And indeed, it is this very book that prevents a radical cure. Finding that all the drugs Mohr takes do him no good, I have often begged of him to accompany Tussy and me to the Pyrenees—*but he will not interrupt his work !* Our exile, years of isolation, etc., etc., etc., are sacrifices to the great cause of the proletariat that I do not regret. However, I confess nevertheless, that I still have some human weaknesses, and that my father's health is more valuable to me than the completion of the second volume of *Das Kapital,* the first volume of which, by the bye, the 'great' German nation has not even deigned to read.

Very sincerely yours,

JENNY MARX.

CORRECTIONS: In the January, 1957, issue, on page 30, the last four words of the footnote should read 'Frankfurt First National Assembly'. On page 32, the word at end of line two should be not 'blunder-busses' but 'rifles'; and the date in footnote 18 should read 'December, 1851'. On page 33, the first footnote should read 'The demolition of the house of the philosopher Leibnitz (whom Marx admired) enabled Dr. Kugelmann to procure two of its tapestries for Marx'.

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UNSTABLE GIANTS

ANGELA TUCKETT

WHEN yet another journal suffered the fate of monopoly press ownership last month, it became headline news and topic for radio commentators. Indeed, *The Times* took it as text for a leader, considering that 'if there are too many such casualties then there is a dangerous social trend'. After noting some of the latest to fall besides the *Glasgow Evening News,* it remarked:

> Something like fifty newspapers have gone out of circulation in the United Kingdom in the past forty years. During the same period the newspaper casualties in the United States have been over 1,000.

The Times considered

> the trend towards fewer and fewer choices for the citizen in his search for information as a matter of the utmost importance. In the United States there are now over 1,100 cities with only one daily paper; in Britain three groups have now over 50 per cent. of the total daily circulations.
>
> (21.1.57).

It was not, of course, anxiety over the fate of several hundred Glasgow print workers which made newsworthy the death of this particular provincial paper with a *rising* circulation of around 200,000. Bought up and closed by the *Daily Mirror* group, which announced the same day the shut-down of their 110-year-old Melbourne *Argus,* this casualty caused 'a flurry in Fleet Street', according to the *Manchester Guardian* (18.1.57) owing to doubts about the future policy of that huge power group.

In the classic workings of monopoly in the press, to which we have constantly referred in the pages of *Labour Monthly,* some new factors have appeared at work. Outstanding are two which react upon each other—rising costs and some queer happenings in advertising. Note these comments on the folding of two American world-sellers, *Colliers* (founded 1868) and *Woman's Home Companion* (founded 1883) which 'shocked the publishing world both here and in the U.S.'. With a circulation of 8,500,000 copies between them they lost £2,700,000 in 1956.

> Rising costs—two terrible little words that have become the death knell of dozens of publications in recent years, continue to worry the life out of many others. (*Retail Newsagent,* 22.12.56.)

It was 'a frightening commentary', continued the trade columnist:

> The fact is that the absolute answer of the publisher's economic problem no longer lies in circulation alone. The vital issue is whether the selling price and advertisement rates dictated by production costs are what

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his readers and advertising clients—who in their turn have their own money troubles—are willing to pay.

The columnist put his finger on what, a month later, *The Times* was to note as the effect of 'a new advertising medium'. He remarked:

> these excellent journals could not attract sufficient support from advertisers because too many hands are fishing for advertising accounts. Commercial T.V. in U.S.A. . . . has made considerable inroads into advertising revenue formerly enjoyed by newspapers and magazines.
>
> (*Retail Newsagent*, 29.12.56).

Circulation running into millions is no mere chickenfeed. Here is a picture of unstable giants. But surely this is some American phenomenon, some typically bizarre excess or disequilibrium from a country where salesmanship has long reached the point where you may take an Honours Degree in it at any local breakfast-food-sponsored college? It can't, surely, happen here?

It can indeed, and *even when circulation is rising.* Take another casualty, *Britannia & Eve* (founded 1929) the first British journal 'to succumb to the icy economic wind that whistles round editorial offices' this year, 'had *trebled in the last six months*'. Yet, a director explained, costs

> have now reached a level at which production of the magazine in its present form and at an acceptable selling price is no longer economically possible. (*Retail Newsagent*, 5.1.57.)

Early to feel the pinch of the shift of advertising revenue, made increasingly more uncertain by T.V., was the provincial press. Over a year ago was the disappearance of the Manchester *Daily Dispatch.* Then Yorkshire and Midlands timber fell. The *Retail Newsagent* remarked:

> The tragedy about the death of the *Yorkshire Observer* is the fact that its circulation was rising steadily throughout the last months. In other words, rising circulation may not necessarily save a publication.
>
> (24.11.56).

The commentator instances the *Birmingham Gazette* which

> with some 80,000 readers every morning, still could not attract advertising which it wanted because its competitor, the *Post*, with only half the circulation reached what is known as *A* readership. (1.12.56.)

To interpret: 'A' readers are the wealthy, so the local paper they read got the advertisements from firms making 'class goods', instead of the bigger 'popular' rival—which therefore had to close down. The *Financial Times* also pointed out the adverse effect on the fast-vanishing provincials of advertising being diverted to T.V. Today only twenty provincial morning daily newspapers survive: five less than at the time of the Royal Commission on the Press in 1949. More are expected to go.

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Indeed, only specialist journals whose readership is not so likely to be reached by T.V. may escape the worst effects of the 'power vacuum' which the advertising shift creates. Here, then, is the American pattern. Already inflated advertising budgets get top heavy; a big proportion goes to T.V.; total advertising revenue for the press shrinks; the less advertisement-worthy find it more impossible to bridge the gap between revenue and costs. Some still see only one ending to all these troubles, in wage restraint—despite the painful object lesson the print unions gave in 1955. Others launch out on vast drives to raise circulation. Thus *The Times* itself, for the first time since 1936, opens a huge publicity offensive aimed at 'the discriminating reader' (distinguishable by cap, gown, wig or gaiters). For the first quarter of this year the advertising budget is said to be £50,000. No wonder *The Times* is once again a little acid about the vast press monopolists.

There are three special conclusions to draw, I think. Firstly, with what a vast 'subsidy' mass advertisers have in the past supported the 'free press', and how unstable this is proving. Secondly, this 'subsidy' conceals nearly half the rising costs—and that *before* Suez. (During the year ending June 30, 1956, nearly 44 per cent. of the revenue of the Beaverbrook press was advertising revenue.) Thirdly, what a remarkable feat it is for a political commentary of the left, without any 'subsidy' except from its readers, for many years to sell over the 10,000 mark—a fruitful thought for *Labour Monthly* readers.

JAMES HUGH BLAIR FIGGINS

1893 - 1956

Jim Figgins, formerly General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, was a valued friend and contributor to Labour Monthly. *A lifelong militant trade unionist from his early days on Clydeside, he many years later (1949) vigorously opposed the right wing of the Trades Union Congress (led by Arthur Deakin) when they broke international trade union solidarity by seceding from the World Federation of Trade Unions. He also gave wholehearted service to the World Peace Movement. Characteristic of his unfaltering stand for international working class unity was his last article in* Labour Monthly: *'May Day and the Fight for Peace' (1953).*

We shall be printing in the March issue an appreciation by Allen Hutt of Dona Torr, who died on January 8th, 1957.

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A BACCHANALIA OF LIES

V. I. LENIN

[*This speech of March 16, 1921, now appearing for the first time in English—and specially translated for the* Labour Monthly *by Violet Lansbury—closed a congress where there had been keen differences, ending, however, in the acceptance of the viewpoints of Lenin, including the New Economic Policy. The Kronstadt mutiny (with the slogan given out from Paris of 'Soviets without Communists') had just been suppressed, with great loss of life : in this speech, Lenin showed how, as always, the imperialist agencies not only magnified such events but fabricated story upon story to an extent that made it almost impossible to catch up and refute even the most far-fetched.—Ed., L.M.*]

COMRADES, we have come to the end of the work of the Party Congress [*10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party*], which has been meeting at a moment of extreme importance for the fate of our revolution. After so many years of imperialist war, the conduct of civil war has so ravaged and upset the country that its revival when the civil war is over has now to be observed in extraordinarily difficult conditions. We cannot, therefore be surprised that elements of disintegration or demoralisation, a petty-bourgeois and anarchist wave, are raising their heads. One of the fundamental conditions of this, after all, is the extreme, unexampled and unprecedented intensification of poverty and despair which now grips tens and hundreds of thousands, and sometimes, perhaps, even a greater number of people, who see no way out of their painful situation. But we know, comrades, that the country has come through much more difficult moments. Without closing our eyes in any way to the danger, without indulging in the slightest degree in any sort of optimism, we are frankly telling ourselves and our comrades that the danger is great, at the same time counting firmly and confidently on the solidarity of the vanguard of the proletariat. We know that, with the exception of the class-conscious proletariat, there is no power in a position to unite the millions of scattered, small tillers of the soil who are everywhere bearing unprecedented burdens, there is no other power capable economically and politically of uniting them against the exploiters. We are confident that out of the experience of struggle, out of the hard experience of revolution, this power has emerged sufficiently battle-steeled to withstand all the heavy trials and the new difficulties. . . .

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World capitalism has been conducting an unprecedentedly nerve-racking, hysterical campaign against us. Yesterday, by agreement with Comrade Chicherin, I received a report on this question and I think it would be useful for everyone to hear it. It is a report on the question of the campaign of lies about Russia's internal situation. 'Never at any time', writes the comrade who drew up the report, 'has there been in the West European press such a bacchanalia of lies and such a mass output of fantastic fabrications about Soviet Russia as during the past two weeks'. Since the beginning of March, the entire West European press has daily published torrents of fantastic despatches about uprisings in Russia, the victory of the counter-revolution, the flight of Lenin and Trotsky to the Crimea, the white flag flying over the Kremlin, torrents of blood on the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, barricades there, dense crowds of workers descending on Moscow from the hills to overthrow Soviet power, Budyenny going over to the side of the insurgents, victory of counter-revolution in several Russian towns, sometimes one town being mentioned, sometimes another, so that in general most of Russia's provincial centres have been enumerated. The universal, systematic nature of the campaign shows that it is an expression of some plan widely-elaborated by all the leading governments. On March 2, the Foreign Office declared through the Press Association that it considered the published despatches to be improbable, but immediately after that the Foreign Office itself published news of an uprising in Petrograd, the bombarding of Petrograd by the Kronstadt fleet and fighting in the streets of Moscow.

On March 2, all the British newspapers published despatches about uprisings in Petrograd and Moscow: Lenin and Trotsky fleeing to the Crimea, 14,000 workers in Moscow demanding the Constituent Assembly, the Moscow arsenal and Moscow-Kursk railway terminus being in the hands of insurgent workers and Vassilievsky Island in Petrograd being entirely in the hands of the insurgents.

I will quote a few examples from radio and telegraph despatches during the days that followed:

March 3, Klishko telegraphs from London that Reuter has seized on the absurd rumours of an uprising in Petrograd and is intensively spreading them.

March 6: Mason, the Berlin correspondent, telegraphs to New York that workers from America are playing an important rôle in the Petrograd revolution and that Chicherin has issued an order to General Ganetsky by radio for the frontier to be closed against emigrants from America.

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March 6 : Zinoviev has fled to Oranienbaum. In Moscow the Red artillery is firing on the workers' districts. Petrograd is cut off on all sides (radio from Wiegand).

March 7 : Klishko telegraphs that according to a Reval despatch barricades have been thrown up in the Moscow streets; the newspapers publish a Helsingfors despatch that Chernigov has been captured by anti-Bolshevik troops.

March 7 : Both Petrograd and Moscow are in the hands of the insurgents. Uprising in Odessa. Semyonov, at the head of 25,000 Cossacks, is moving across Siberia. The Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd has control of the fortifications and fleet (despatches from the Poldhu British radio-station).

March 7, Nauen : In Petrograd factory districts have revolted. Volhynia is in the grip of an anti-Bolshevik uprising.

Paris, March 7 : Petrograd is in the hands of the Revolutionary Committee. *Le Matin* quotes London despatches as stating that the white flag is flying over the Kremlin.

Paris, March 8 : The insurgents have captured Krasnaya Gorka. Red army regiments have mutinied in the Pskov province. The Bolsheviks are sending Bashkirians against Petrograd.

On March 10, Klishko telegraphed: the newspapers are asking themselves whether Petrograd has fallen or not. According to Helsingfors despatches, three-quarters of Petrograd is in the hands of the insurgents; Trotsky—or according to others—Zinoviev—is in command of the operations at Tosna or in the Peter-Paul fortress; according to others, Brusilov has been appointed Commander-in-Chief; according to Riga despatches, Petrograd was captured on the 9th, except for the railway termini; the Red Army has retreated to Gatchina; Petrograd strikers are putting out the slogan: 'Down with the Soviets and Communists'. The British Ministry of War declared that it is not yet known whether the Kronstadt insurgents have linked up with those in Petrograd but, according to reports in its possession, Zinoviev is in the Peter-Paul fortress, where he is commanding the Soviet troops.

From the vast amount of lying fabrications of these days I am selecting examples:

Saratov has become an independent, anti-Bolshevik republic (*Nauen, March 11*). In the Volga towns there are fierce pogroms against the Communists (same source). In the Minsk province Byelorussian army units are fighting against the Red Army (same source).

Paris, March 15 : Le Matin reports that Kuban and Don Cossacks have revolted in vast masses.

On March 14, Nauen reports that Budyenny's cavalry has joined the insurgents near Orel. At various times there have been reports of uprisings in Pskov, Odessa and other towns.

On March 9, Krassin telegraphs that *The Times* Washington correspondent states that the Soviet régime is coming to an end and therefore America is postponing the resumption of relations with the Border States. At various times there have been reports from American banking circles to the effect that, with circumstances as they are, it would be a gamble to trade with

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Russia. The New York correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* stated on March 4 that business circles and the Republican Party in America consider trade relations with Russia at the present time would be a gamble.

Undoubtedly the campaign of lies has in view not only America but also the Turkish delegation in London and the Silesian plebiscite.

Comrades, the picture is quite clear. The world press syndicate—there they have press freedom which consists in 99 per cent. of the press being bought by finance magnates who have a turnover of hundreds of millions of roubles—has launched a world campaign of the imperialists intended first and foremost to disrupt the impending trade agreement with America, which we are at present negotiating, as I pointed out, and concerning which mention has been made in the course of our Congress discussions. This shows that the enemies surrounding us, after losing the means of carrying out intervention, are relying on insurrection. And the Kronstadt events revealed the link with the international bourgeoisie. . . .

The American bourgeois press of today has completely undermined all confidence in itself. This is the enemy served by the two million Russian emigres from landlord and capitalist circles who are now living abroad; this is the army of the bourgeoisie that confronts us. Let them make their attempts to undermine the practical success of Soviet power and disrupt trade relations. We know they will not succeed in doing it. And as for all this information in the international press, the press that controls hundreds of thousands of newspapers, that informs the whole world, it again shows the degree to which we are surrounded by enemies, the degree to which these enemies, compared with last year, are enfeebled. And it is this that we must understand comrades! I think that the majority of the Congress members present here have understood the right limit to be put on our differences. Naturally, it was not possible to maintain a correct sense of proportion during a struggle in Congress. It should not be required of people who have just been conducting a struggle, that they should immediately understand this. But when we look at our party as the centre of world revolution and look at the campaign which the syndicate of states of the world is conducting against us, we should have no doubts. Let them carry on their campaign; we have examined it and we are perfectly aware of the measure of our own differences, and we know that after rallying together at this Congress we shall certainly emerge from our differences absolutely united and with a party that is more than ever battle-steeled, and that will continue to go forward to still more decisive international victories! (*Stormy applause.*)

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LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM

TO MAKE ROOM *for even a small section of letters on Socialist-Communist Relations (which people seem to find it hard to write on except at great length) we have over-run our space this month. Even so we have a queue; among which, apart from those still discussing this important political subject, there is a splendid letter from a leading London shop steward for which there was no room this time. He gives most practical advice to the man who 'has to have' the excessive overtime. Whilst controversy on redundancy, overtime, automation and the Rent Bill continue, there is now coming up the vital question of the younger trade unionist: what he thinks, what makes him tick—and what doesn't. Another young trade unionist asks advice in organising his fellow clerks in a small firm. Indeed, three of our correspondents tell us they are under thirty; three more are in or about the eighties. Unions include Blacksmiths, Engineers, Electricians, Railwaymen and Clerks. Letters for March—and please, if you can, be brief—must reach us by Thursday, February 7.*

THE EDITOR, LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM,
134, Ballards Lane,
London, N.3.

★

Short-time is Overtime's Twin

Your young prizewinner Delahay narked me when he poured such scorn on Evans for admitting outright that he needed more than the 'allowance' of overtime. It is all very well for a young single fellow to tell Evans that 'personal example counts a lot, mate'. He is talking to a man only six years older than himself with a household of four mouths to feed, who has the honesty to state openly a problem that many think it 'bad form' to mention. Of course I don't quarrel with young Delahay's cure: that the battle for basic rate increase should 'start now in the factories and sites' to show leaders 'that the boys mean business'. But to do that we must persuade all the boys that pay is what counts and not earnings. I don't see him doing that by abusing them as 'oozlum birds'. Delahay should remember the wise advice grand old Tom Mann gave to young engineers: 'When you have satisfied yourselves you have got a good case, take care not to spoil it by intolerance towards the views of others; being convinced of the necessity of your views prevailing, hold them and advocate them, knowing it to be a sacred duty to do so.'

Your correspondent Lewis writes more convincingly, because he skips the abuse and probes more deeply. He is from Gloucester; there's a cold wind blowing round those parts now. Watching the Midlands automobile men, maybe he and his mates recognise the price you have to pay, if for years you fail to fight in the workshop

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for increase in the basic whilst explaining (patiently!) to the younger men why the overtime racket is a knife to cut our own throats. From sharing overtime to sharing short time—and finally, sharing unemployment—is all too brief a step.

These years of 'over-full employment' on inadequate basic rates with what Lewis rightly calls the bosses' dangled bait of overtime to keep out the draught, is characteristic of this particular post-war period. The greater the destruction of a war, the longer the post-war period lasts. The younger generation is astonished to find overtime side by side with short-time and redundancy. Yet that is exactly one of those things which make capitalism tick. But we rarely tell the youngster that, whilst letting pass unchallenged propaganda by the Economic League. As Marx pointed out in the midst of the unheard of 'prosperity' of the last century: 'The condemnation of one part of the working-class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists.' Moreover, that the worker population perpetually works itself out of a job, and produces redundancy and 'a relative surplus population' is 'a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production'.

Overtime, automation, redundancy, ever-increasing drive for more output —these are not problems that can be olved in one workshop nor industry. hey are a question for the whole orking class, a class question. Yet have heard automation dismissed y engineers because 'they can't autoate in our line'. How rarely today we hear responsible leaders or the der men in the workshop discussing sic problems from a class point of w, or in any but a hand-to-mouth y. An exception was an all-too-rt article by F. L. Haxell in L.M. on trade union problems the summer before last. Also one by Wal Hannington on automation and socialism. Maybe some get dealt with industry by industry in trade union journals; but they should be discussed everywhere, on any workshop floor, and upwards. If railwaymen, builders, dockers or other engineers are not concerned with the plight of the motor engineers, then it is time for a bit more working class economics and politics and a bit less blether about painless transitions, or brotherhood *after* we have got rid of the capitalist class. They and the rotten problems they create are still with us.

So good luck to Evans for forcing a real problem under our noses. He deserves a patient hearing; there are thousands like him, whom we can't kid ourselves we have convinced yet.

A. M. RICHARDS,
Staffs.

'It's unprincipled greed'

The overtime hogger proposes to go on hogging until better men than he—real union men—have pushed his basic rate up 75 per cent. While they do the fighting for him, he goes on whining about his commitments. Anyone can use those arguments; and, in my opinion, when Mr. Evans has got his rate raised 75 per cent he will be whining for overtime to meet his new commitments—on a car, a T.V., a new house; the lot, in fact. Or maybe he will be saving to start a business and exploit the labour of others. That is where unprincipled greed lands a man.

J. DIX,
Surrey.

He asked the craftsman's advice

During a meeting of engineering youth a week or so ago I was speaking to the well known Wally Hannington who drew my attention to the letter by J. Evans and suggested I give a reply. To this I agreed, not fully appreciating how difficult the question is. So the

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first conclusion I came to was, get some advice. Now the place where I am working is a Generating Station, a place where workers do 80 and 90 hours a week. I showed Evans's letter to a craftsman whom I consider to be well-balanced in outlook. After reading it carefully, he turned and said 'What he says about overtime is quite correct and you can't do anything about it'. Then I gave the article to a leading trade unionist who was earlier saying that the working class had made no progress whatever since the war. After reading it he said 'What did I tell you? To live a reasonably comfortable life you have to work all the hours under the sun. We haven't made any progress, we're just being told we have'.

So what conclusion can I draw from that? Work the overtime until the position is such that the working class controls society and can then disband this unwanted evil?

ALAN R. GRAINGER,
Brockley.
Hon. Treas., Junior Workers' Committee, A.E.U., North London District.

'Well, why not ask the youth?'

Thank you, Frank Stanley, for your *Youth at Work*. We should go on discussing this! Starting point is to try and understand young people between 20 and 30. What are their reactions to the many questions that loom before them? It is no good saying that we are all products of society and must first change society. We must be prepared to find out what sort of people society has made, taking into account all the details and all the contradictions. How can we know what young people think? Most of them are honest—why not ask them? I have made a start, working in the electrical contracting industry, by asking questions about trade unions.

There seems general agreement that there should be trade unions. To the question: 'Do you attend your branch?' the answer varies from 'not very often' to 'not at all'. Someone who attends his branch regularly is regarded either as a strong union man —or with suspicion. One 23-year-old seemed to be well informed, but he never attended his branch because there was never time: he mostly worked overtime, in the evenings.

To those who did attend sometimes, the question: 'Are your branch meetings interesting to you?' brought differing answers. The complaint of one was that they were 'always talking about other countries'. Another found his interesting 'sometimes'. One said he would have to go for three or four weeks consecutively before he could understand what was going on; he wasn't prepared to.

To the question: 'Do you want an increase in wages?' the answer was very similar. 'Of course, but it takes so long to get it.' Asked what they would do to get it, the reply was: 'We pay the Union to get it, it's up to them. If the Union can't get one, then I suppose we will have to have some more strikes like 1953.' To other questions the answer very often was: 'I don't know—you tell me?' Most would listen, but not for long.

Now, some will have mechanical answers to all these points, and why young people have the attitudes they do. It is precisely these people who will not find solutions to the problem. The point is, not to be able to say that the influence of the press, the B.B.C. and the cinema are to blame; but, with Frank Stanley, that Youth must be helped to be aware of themselves as a force.

J. LAWRENCE (*Aged 28*).
Putney.
E.T.U., C.P. and Young Communist League.

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An Old 'un's view

Automation is necessary in modern industry. But the catch phrases and propaganda from Tory and certain quarters such as: 'Automation opens up a whole issue of new scientific labour and new jobs': and 'increase in production will bring a great advance in the standard of living', are simply nonsense. An employer considers automation as the means of increasing and cheapening production and increasing profits.

It is well known that over production caused the great depression between the two world wars. In a proper balance sheet production should be equalled by consumption but under a capitalist economy we know that the contradictions inherent in the system prevent this taking place. The socialist parties and trade unions can, to a large extent, overcome the worst features of the system by concentrating more on consumption. Let's consider the home market, the European and world markets, and what means are required to increase consumption. For instance, if China had been allowed to purchase one million tractors this would have caused more work in the motor industry instead of the spreading of redundancy. An increase in wages of the colonial workers would mean an increase in consumption of goods supplied by this country. The socialist countries offer a great market for the study of heavy machinery, electrical equipment, road and rail transport, which we can supply. Russia, China and the other socialist states form what must be recognised as a stable and growing market with great potentials.

We must change our foreign policy; we have allowed ourselves to be dominated by America and the Cold War policy. We live under a state of crisis and a steady decline in the standard of living, we can no longer afford this outlook. In the first place, with complete freedom in our foreign policy we could cut this ridiculous armament expenditure and with a real progressive government with socialist ideals fill a progressive position in world politics, much needed at the present time. It would aim to increase consumption both at home and in world markets including colonial countries. Surely there is something better than this old idea of cutting consumption here to export more to countries which are pursuing exactly the same policy? Trade agreements and loans, with no strings attached, but beneficial to both parties, the setting up of bulk buying agencies and control of prices at home. The export of capital abroad at the expense of capital equipment at home would have to be controlled. In short, we must have more planned economy, not for the benefit of a few but for the whole of the people.

C. DRUMMOND,
(*Old Age Pensioner*),
45 years' membership A.E.U.

Glasgow.

Mr. Silverman is wrong

When Mr. Sydney Silverman introduced his Bill in parliament to abolish the death penalty it met with stiff opposition from the Tories and not a little among his own friends. This Bill made no threat to the capitalist system. What would have happened if he had introduced a Bill to abolish capitalism? Yet he writes as though the Communist road and the Social-Democratic road are two different roads, both of which lead to socialism. Since when has Social-Democracy led to socialism? The question is: world socialism or imperialism? The imperialists themselves have leaned heavily on Social-Democracy. Mr.

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Silverman speaks of the 'errors' of Stalin and the German-Soviet pact of 1939. There is nothing in these that made me shudder as I did when a few weeks ago Mr. Gaitskell complained about the weakness of N.A.T.O. and its inability to attack the U.S.S.R.

Nearly every capitalist country in the world has foreign troops inside its borders (either on the initiative or with the support of Social-Democracy), and much as Mr. Silverman dislikes guns and tanks, the British people may some day find these useful to expel foreign troops from our soil. I leave it to Mr. Silverman to decide whether these troops are in Britain to protect us from 'Russian aggression' or to protect us from Socialism. While on the subject of arms we need to remind ourselves that Social-Democratic guns, tanks, bombers and flame-throwers have been used against the peoples of Malaya, Korea and Kenya. We have to say and keep on saying that these are not 'errors' of Social-Democracy, but its essence.

There is nothing in the Communist road to socialism that is not in keeping with British tradition. The struggles of the British working class in the last century puts to shame the feeble and flabby token fighting that goes on in the name of Social-Democracy. There are millions in the labour movement whose wants and desires are those of the Communist party, and Mr. Silverman must know well that large numbers of Social-Democrats resort to trickery and downright swindling in their effort to bar communists from leading positions. It is not correct to say that there is no need for a Communist party in Great Britain. The hatred shown by the ruling class and its press, towards it is a sure sign that the Community Party is doing its job. This does not mean that we cannot fight side by side with Social-Democrats. There are tens of millions in Britain who want socialism; but they will wait till the cows come home and not get it, unless they are led by people who also want it. Some of us think that we in the Communist party are capable of giving that leadership. If one or two of us go a bit wrong in the process, most of us understand that correcting mistakes goes towards the making of a good communist.

Whether we regard ourselves as communists or socialists, we both have the same enemy; and there is nothing on earth to stop us from reaching socialism if we can only get around to timing our blows hard and often. That and that only is the road to socialism.

A. McDONALD,
Essex.

Unmistakably British

The really harsh fact underlined by Mr. Silverman is that 'Socialism has no future if Socialists fight one another: we must accept those facts on which alone co-operation is fruitful'. Then he argues that wherever 'by tradition, by history, by social organisation, for any other reason, the road to Socialism must necessarily be the social-democratic road, there is equally no need or use for a Communist party. At best, it seems to sow doubt, distrust and division—at worst, it is a mere apologist for another country and another way'. Well! Let us examine the tradition, history, etc., of the British working class to see if Mr. Silverman's premise that Britain's way can only be 'social-democratic' fits the facts.

Because of their tradition, history and social structure, the British workers pioneered and evolved, as necessary for promoting their unity and common policies, what are now called 'popular fronts' or 'common platforms'. Such are our trades councils, federations, confederations, T.U.C., etc. Further, we find that it was as a common platform and

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popular front of the socialist trends, revolutionary and reformist, that the trade union movement formed the Labour Party. By tradition, then, the Labour Party conformed to the objective need of the organised working class in structure and content: neither reformist nor revolutionary, 'social democratic' nor 'communistic', but embracing both; a working class party which promoted both unity and socialist objectives, and fully harmonised with the democratic structure and practice of the organised workers.

Bans and proscriptions which do deadly work in disrupting and confusing workers are in truth a break with tradition, history and social structure. Here they are falsely labelled to support the view that 'at best' the communists sow 'distrust and division', and to justify the conclusion that the 'social-democratic' Labour Party is the only way. How misleading!

This term 'social-democratic' can mean that workers, after winning full suffrage, should use existing instruments of government to win the power to establish a full socialist economy and society. But Communists also would share this hope. However, in the context of Mr. Silverman's premise, 'social-democratic' in practice means the gaining of power to cushion the worst features of capitalism, to improve its working and profits without interfering with the basic political and economic relationships.

No 'social-democratic' party has ever established a socialist economy in any country, much less a socialist society. Since it contradicts their basic thinking and actions, no 'social-democratic' party can achieve this. In the context of Mr. Silverman's premise there is no 'social-democratic road to socialism'; nor can disbanding the British Communist Party provide one.

There is, however, a very defined and unmistakably British road, the only road to socialism, clearly laid out and painfully built by the great army of pioneers, which stands the test of life. They set the Labour Party on this road; and we owe it to them to show their courage, determination and vigilance to bring the Labour Party back on their road. Let Professor G. D. H. Cole, who is courageously outspoken on the need for socialist unity, ponder on it and act on it. Let Nye Bevan, as the symbol of the socialist upsurge of the rank-and-file, ponder and act on it. The pioneers had no illusions about the effect of witch-hunts and taboos, they had no doubt either about the way forward and the principles involved when they set us on the road, the road which embraces the Communist Party because it is an indispensable and integral part of the socialist content of our great movement.

These are the facts Mr. Silverman, let us then accept the facts and co-operate to re-establish the road 'clearly marked and painfully built by our great army of pioneers'. Let us co-operate and unite in the essential fight to end the bans and barriers to unity and the forward march to Socialism within the Labour Party and within the movement.

GWYN WILLIAMS,
Clapham.

For Sale or To Let?

Councillor Vernon is doubtful whether the Government's Rent Bill is intended to restore the attractiveness of house-letting as an investment proposition, pointing out that property investors 'have taken no interest in adding to the stock of working class houses occupied by rent-paying tenants since about the beginning of this century'. Quite true—but I did not intend to suggest that the object of the Bill was to encourage

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house-*building* for letting purposes; I was talking about the future of the existing six million rented houses. At present, property companies tend to sell these off whenever vacant possession can be obtained. I think myself that if the Bill goes through it will provide a considerable inducement to let such houses in future (though at much higher rents) rather than to sell them. Indeed, there are already reports of accommodation being deliberately held vacant until the Bill goes through. This may, as he suggests, run counter to the stated aim of the Conservatives to compel people to become owner-occupiers—but so for that matter do the credit squeeze and the high interest rates on mortgages—the Conservatives have surely frequently acted in the interests of the large property owners, whilst adopting slogans which appeal to the small owners who predominate in the rank and file of the Conservative Party.

I share his view that the Bill is unlikely to encourage *new house-building* for letting to the working class. But by and large, private enterprise has never found this profitable since the sanitation legislation of the last century. The building boom at the turn of the century was primarily to satisfy the needs of the middle class and high-paid workers, just like the building boom of the 'thirties. The former was mainly for letting, the latter mainly for sale, but in neither case was it building for the lower paid workers. How then is it that so many working class families occupy houses let to them by private landlords? Because working-class families have tended to filter up into second-hand houses as and when these became obsolete. Tom Vernon and I could no doubt show one another the results of this in our own localities—houses originally built for single family occupation by the middle class, now occupied by three or four families (servants' quarters and all) with not enough water taps to go round, and perhaps one bathroom between the lot—or perhaps not.

It is only the local authorities which have been able to provide decent new accommodation for working class tenants at rents they can afford, and the massive revival of municipal house-building which he envisages will certainly prove the only possible solution to the housing problem whatever happens to the Rent Bill.

KATHERINE HOOD,
London, N.6.

Putting it briefly . . .

I am a clerk (C.A.W.U.), one of forty, in a firm of merchant traders. As far as I am aware, I alone am a trade unionist (though such subjects are rarely discussed, as one might lose one's job should this information get into the 'wrong hands'); there are possibly three socialists amongst us. We hear with great interest and admiration of the difficulties of factory workers, miners, dockers, etc., and the struggles they have and battles they win; but what of the 'white collar' workers? How can the pitiably few of us who are socialists help in the struggle? We are rarely strong enough to consider a fight. There is also that group amongst us who have been won over to the 'Profit Cause' and are our enemies. What do we do about them? Are not the merchant traders amongst the worst exploiters of the workers? Perhaps someone can give me, and I imagine many others, help on these problems, which I feel are very real and important, and need to be faced.—*J.K.W. (Aged 28), London, W.1.*

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Coppock's article is supplying a lot of questions for a Ward L.P. Brains Trust on Housing this month here. One of the troubles in this area is that political matters are not considered interesting enough to take part in, and the chores of Ward Labour Parties and union branches fall on the few, of which I am one. Consequently, when the spade-work is done one wants a rest. However, one has one's own thoughts as one travels round, and I am fortified to find that what I think is echoed in L.M.'s pages. —*G.C., Devon.*

Fifty-one years ago I joined the then Marxist organisation (S.D.F.) and I do not think I've ever seriously moved from that position. I've belonged to the Communist Party now for twelve years. I am grateful for the December and January Notes about Hungary. What would have happened if Russia had done nothing and allowed the very serious reactionary forces in Hungary to form a 'pocket of resistance' in the very centre of Europe and allowed 'a bourgeois Republic' to be set up? I simply can't understand the attitude of our left-wing supporters who are scandalised.—*G.B.C., Isle of Wight.*

About Hungary, I feel very sad and furious about the perfidy of American statesmen. £100,000,000 voted for subversion, yet crocodile tears when they experience the inevitable results. At nearly 79 years of age I hope to live long enough to see the socialist world march together to victory, with such a hard crust of vigilance built around them that not all the wealth of the usurers can penetrate any more.—*R.J.G., Wilts.*

My trade union branch discussed Evans' letter on overtime. We did not reach agreement on just how to answer him, but he put the position fair and square. As we go into the campaign for the engineers' demand, if *L.M.* airs such problems it should increase sales in the workshops and do a real service.—*A.S., Middlesex.*

S. Silverman's note was interesting. I always think he is one of the most honest and sincere of the leaders of the Labour Party; and yet how confused! At one moment he argues that there is no need and no use for a Communist Party. Later on he insists that socialists must work together. But I always feel that I cannot throw bricks at such men. It took me long enough to find the need for a Communist Party and to get inside it. And when I did I very soon got a Marxist understanding of affairs that saved me from that confusion that Silverman still suffers from.—*J.A.S., Sussex.*

In these historic days how fortunate we are to have such a worthwhile magazine to give us the facts. If only all readers would read and digest the *Notes of the Month* and follow this with a real discussion on them at branch meetings, there would not be so many confused minds ready to fall for the anti-communist arguments, however skilfully these may be wrapped up and camouflaged.—*M.M., Renfrew.*

The Forum. It has been a wonderful innovation. My husband (N.U.R.) was tickled at your first prize-winning letter about the Teddy boy's shrewd view of politics: he is always quoting it.—*K.E., Scotland.*

★

(This month's prize of ONE GUINEA *is awarded to John Lawrence for his letter :* 'WELL, WHY NOT ASK THE YOUTH?')

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Book Reviews

CONTRAST IN GERMANY

The Changing Germans, by Paula Wiking. (138 pp. Lincolns-Prager. *12s. 6d.*) *World Indivisible,* by Konrad Adenauer. (122 pp. Allen & Unwin. *10s. 6d.*)

THE contrast between these two books is a sharp reminder of the way the two Germanies are growing apart and the chasm that must be bridged before there can be any practical prospect of reunification. Both pictures are drawn in black and white. Paula Wiking, like a good many of us, has been so thrilled with the Socialist advances in the German Democratic Republic that she has not given weight enough to the many obstacles that have still to be overcome, particularly to the need for much greater effort to draw the mass of the people into the tasks of socialist construction.

World Indivisible is a collection of Dr. Adenauer's speeches, made before the fatal decision to create a new Wehrmacht, and the one point that emerges is that their author's idea is to maintain the division of Europe, with a united Germany in the Western camp. But this picture, while is shows clearly where the present rulers of the Federal Republic are going, gives no indication of the growing section in Western Germany, who seek a way out through neutrality and honest discussion with their fellow Germans in the East.

Apart from the criticism made above, which is very much in the minds of the leaders of the German Democratic Republic, Miss Wiking's book is a splendid piece of reportage. She has talked to the ordinary people at work and at play. She stayed at a 'new life youth home' where the young delinquents are being turned into useful citizens. She listened to discussions among trade unionists in the factories and among meetings of citizens discussing the new divorce proposals. She interviewed one of the private employers who still retain a big section of the economy. It is all so different from the picture presented by the millionaire newspapers. And it is essential that it should be known in the West because it is the answer to the people who think the German problem can be solved by an election in which 48 million in the West can outvote 18 million in the East. The Germans who have built the new society Miss Wiking portrays, will never go back to the old days. They know that the future is in their own hands. They have their criticisms, but offer them 'World Indivisible' as an alternative and you find how strongly they stand by the socialist foundations of the German Democratic Republic. When Germans in East and West get round one table to discuss ways of living together in unity, while accepting the fact that the clock cannot be put back, then a basis for reunification can be found. But Adenauer bolts the door.

GORDON SCHAFFER

CHINESE SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. II, by Joseph Needham. (pp. xxii, 697. Cambridge University Press. 80s.)

IN his article, *Old China* (LABOUR MONTHLY, July, 1955), R. Page Arnot, reviewing the first volume of Needham's book, expounded the character of this great undertaking. It is a comparative study of the civilisations of Europe and China mainly from the technological and scientific aspects. Page Arnot gave

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the first volume a warm welcome, and it is to be said at once that the second more than fulfils the promise of the first. This is not only because it is twice as long, but by reason of the mounting interest as the exposition takes shape.

The special subject of this volume is the history of Chinese scientific thought in its more general aspects, the development of the particular sciences being reserved for later treatment. The great topics are Confucianism, Taoism, the Logicians, the Legalists, and the history of the interaction of these rival schools. The long concluding section is devoted to a topic of the first interest, the relation of the concept of human law to the concept of the laws of nature. In the European context, the concept of laws of nature has been derived from that of human law, the Creator being conceived also in the character of lawgiver. 'The Chinese world-view' writes Needham:

> depended upon a totally different line of thought. The harmonious co-operation of all beings arose, not from the orders of a superior authority external to themselves, but from the fact that they were all parts in a hierarchy of wholes forming a cosmic pattern, and that what they obeyed were the internal dictates of their own natures. Modern science and the philosophy of organism, with its integrative levels, have come back to this wisdom, fortified by new understanding of cosmic, biological and social evolution.

This quotation may serve to indicate the extraordinary value of comparative studies of this scope.

But we should not blind ourselves to their difficulty and rarity. It is not often that anybody can be found to grasp the whole field of European scientific and technical development, it demands so difficult an apprenticeship in linguistic, historical, and scientific disciplines. To double this by mastering the linguistic and historical tools necessary for original work in the equally vast and rich field of Chinese civilisation is the unique thing that Joseph Needham has somehow managed to accomplish. Nor is his book a compilation. *Though encyclopædic it is not an* encyclopædia. Every page is stamped with the individuality of the author. The information, massive as it is, is still all part of an argument. Such are the qualities which both make it impossible for any other individual adequately to review the book and also convince one of its greatness. May it have the destiny its author would wish for it. May it lift European and Asiatic understanding to a new integrative level.

B. FARRINGTON.

HEALTH THROUGH THE AGES

From Witchcraft to World Health, by S. Leff, MD., DPH., Barrister-at-Law, and Vera Leff. (236 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 21s.)

BOOKS on the history of medicine are apt to be a bore. They seldom fit the scientific achievements of the past into a social framework and new discoveries are seen as isolated phenomena often attached to a great name. The authors of this book cannot be faulted on this count. They have produced a lucid well written account of medical history as it has affected the ordinary man or woman of the world. The illustrations are admirable, the layout and typography excellent.

The Marxist approach is used with skill to paint a comprehensive and integrated picture of the changing world of medicine. The authors explain why the discoveries of the

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laboratories are not automatically translated into world-wide improvements in conditions of health. They look forward to an increasingly social approach to medicine as popular pressure is exerted.

I was disappointed at the somewhat cursory treatment of our National Health Service, which is not even listed in the index. The vast extension of voluntary and compulsory health insurance schemes throughout the Western world is not mentioned. Attention is drawn to the inadequate housing conditions in America, Britain and Belgium but the very much worse housing in Eastern Europe is not mentioned. This is no oversight since space is found to write with enthusiasm for the positive approach to health found in the U.S.S.R., which should surely include better housing.

I will leave the authors with a conundrum. Why is it that the capitalist world has achieved every single major medical advance during the last forty years? If the profit motive can produce insulin, liver extracts, sulphonamides, antibiotics, cortisone, etc., for the people why cannot the state-run laboratories of the Peoples' Democracies do as much? Dr. and Mrs. Leff must put their Marxist thinking caps on and give us the answer. BRUCE CARDEW.

The authors' comment:

Dr. Cardew, in the first two paragraphs of his review, has himself given the explanation of why we did not raise the type of question he has posed. As he rightly says, the main intention of the book was to show how medical history has affected the ordinary men and women of the world—and how it has been affected by them, over many thousands of years. In the small space that could be given to modern medical organisations in many countries, the positive achievements of both the Western world and the Soviet Union are mentioned, in the light of their different social backgrounds. In this respect, Dr. Cardew, as one of a medical delegation visiting the Soviet Union in 1955, has himself testified to the outstanding approach to social medicine developed there during the last thirty years. S. and V. LEFF.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

The 'Revolt of the Field' in Lincs., by Rex. C. Russell. Lincs. County Committee, National Union of Agricultural Workers. 168 pp. 2s. 6d. (3s. 3d. by post).
The Hungry Heart, by John Cockburn. Jarrolds. 286 pp. 18s.
Portraits from Memory, by Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin. 228 pp. 16s.
Foma Gordeyev, by Maxim Gorky. Lawrence & Wishart. 264 pp. 12s. 6d.
Literary Phonetic English, by A. Eagle. Eagle. 196 pp. 6s.
Days of our Life, by Vera Ketlinskaya. Lawrence & Wishart. 832 pp. 15s.
America and the British Left, by Henry Pelling. Black. 174 pp. 18s.
Trade Unions, by Eric L. Wigham. O.U.P. Home University Library. 278 pp. 7s. 6d.
The Great Road, by Agnes Smedley. Monthly Review Press, New York. 462 pp. $6.75.
The Lost Letter, by Ion Luca Caragiale. Lawrence & Wishart. 182 pp. 12s. 6d.
The Development of the Monist View of History, by G. Plekhanov. Lawrence & Wishart. 410 pp. 6s. 6d.
Land of Blue Sky, by Ivor Montagu. Dobson. 192 pp. 25s.
The S.S.: Alibi of a Nation, 1922-1945. Gerald Reitlinger. Heinemann. 502 pp. 35s.
Keir Hardie, by Emrys Hughes. Allen & Unwin. 248 pp. 15s.
Tom Mann and His Times, by Dona Torr. Lawrence & Wishart. 356 pp. 21s.

PAMPHLETS

The Rent Bill Explained. Labour Research Department. 14 pp. 6d.
Wages Questions. Labour Research Department. 16 pp. 9d.

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(*Continued from page ii of cover*)

He'll ask for more!

As a collector for Socialism of at least thirty years' standing, your statement on finance in the January *L.M.* comes as a sharp reminder that only on very rare occasions have I contributed to or collected for the *L.M.* Fund. The lines below are an attempt to express my own intention to reform and to persuade as many as possible to do so. It is well known that the way to get money is simple. Just ask and ye shall receive. But to save a publication means a large and determined body of collectors who ask every week without fail and for the smallest sums—like this 5s.

As Shakespeare says: A Tuckett sounds. Your Warning, Angela, rings clear,
In terms of pence no less than pounds for each responsive ear.
Too long have few the burden borne; ashamed, we now must make amends
Nor longer earn the tristful scorn of you, D. H. Strathern and friends
Socialist Sailor, R.F.B., E. D. McCallum, D. M. Clarke how freely *we've admired your names!*
The Tuckett sounds! Now glows the spark must kindle glorious flames!
Five hundred readers every month can guarantee a crown.
A thousand more can put at least a useful bawbee down.
The book must still be brought to us; its loss we dare not brook—
So save the Monthly comrades all before we're *brought to book.*

'OLIVER TWIST', *Kent.*

An old Debt

I notice by your 'cover piece' that *L.M.* is in jeopardy because of lack of money. This must not be: the risk of losing a magazine of fine form and excellent content to the labour movement. I subscribed to *L.M.* firstly in 1921, away out in Australia—and ever since. And over this period I have made only one donation of a guinea—about two years ago. At a shilling a year (since 1921)—a modest sum—I still owe you 15s.—W.P., *London.*

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